

**TIES THAT BIND: A NETWORK ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
NIGERIAN MIGRANTS AND SOUTH AFRICANS IN UMHLATHUZE**

BY

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DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

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Signed

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my husband, Prof. C.A. Isike and my children; Vizee, Ruonah, and Maro. Your unwavering support and prayers are my source of inspiration. You are indeed my most important ties.

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To my beloved husband and life supervisor, thank you for your undying support and encouragement, especially during the times I wanted to give up. Your tender advice and push got me this far. I could never have done this without you. And to my children, Oghenevieve, Ogheneruonah and Oghenemaro who sacrificed their “mummy time” to allow me to study, words are not enough to say how much I appreciate and love you all.

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ABSTRACT

Xenophobia targeted at African immigrants is a recurring problem that has made post-apartheid South Africa notorious around the world. The dramatic and violent nature of this xenophobia which peaked in May 2008 and April 2015 tends to encourage a focus on xenophobia rather than on other aspects of the relationship between African migrants and South Africans which include a broad array of interactions, such as assimilation, cosmopolitanism, hybridity and conviviality.

In light of the above, this study aimed to examine and explain the nature of interactions between Nigerian migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze Municipality by analysing the social network ties that connect them. The key research questions posed included, how do Nigerian migrants living in Umhlathuze characterise their interactions and relationships with South Africans? What relationships do the migrants in the sample identify as their most important relationship with a South African, if any? How did these 'important' relationships come about and evolve over time? What does each person in an important relationship between a migrant and a South African gain from the relationship? What kinds of support are offered within these relationships? In what ways do these relationships enable the integration of Nigerian migrants in Umhlathuze? What do migrants who have an important relationship with a South African and the South Africans themselves think about the impact of their particular ethnic identities on their association with one another? And finally, how are these relationships affected by class and gender?

To answer these questions, the study adopted a qualitative approach which was appropriate as it accommodates an interpretivist interest in the subjective understandings of ordinary people. This approach also informed the selection of the secondary and primary methods used for data collection and analysis. The primary data was collected through qualitative (semi-structured) interviews with 68 respondents (36 Nigerian migrants and 32 South Africans) selected using stratified random sampling. The Nigerian respondents were randomly drawn from a list provided by the Association of Nigerian Residents in Umhlathuze (ANRU) through a lottery process after they were segmented equally for gender and class using Ndletyana's (2014) class stratification. These sub-groups were males, females, middle class and working class. The 36 Nigerian respondents (also referred to as egos) were then interviewed and asked to identify one South African each (also referred to as alters) from their networks of friends. Overall, 32 South Africans were identified and interviewed, making a total of 68 respondents as four of the Nigerian immigrants did not have a South African tie.

Using social network theory as an analytical framework, the study investigated the everyday realities of migrants in ordinary places who interact with a variety of people through their livelihood activities, marriages and social relationships, in their residential areas, in faith-based organizations and other elements of everyday life. It examined the networks, friendships and communities of practice which draw people into collaborations with one another across the South African-foreigner divide. The main conclusion arising from the findings is that while evidence of hostility abounds in the relations between South Africans and African immigrants, xenophobia is only one dimension, and other dimensions of these relationships include tolerance, acceptance and friendship that are mutually beneficial. The

study revealed that the relationships between African migrants and South Africans residing in Umhlathuze range from one extreme of hostility and prejudice to the other of hospitality and conviviality. Between these two extremes lie other modes of interactions which include self-exclusion, exclusion, cultural exchanges and entanglements, cosmopolitanism, and hospitality/conviviality on both sides.

In terms of most important relationship with a South African, the majority of the Nigerian respondents had such ties. These include ties with spouses/partners, friends, work colleagues, and clergy, most of which were symmetrical, meaning that they were characterized by reciprocity and mutual recognition of the importance of the relationship. However, the study argues that irrespective of whether or not relationships were symmetrical, migrants gained support which enabled their integration in Umhlathuze. For example, the Nigerian migrants gained tangible and intangible support which was both two-directional and one-directional. In terms of the role of national and cultural identities, some respondents acknowledged that they had social prejudices. These included prejudices held by South Africans against Nigerians, and vice versa. Many said that their prejudices had softened as a result of getting to know people against whom they were once prejudiced. Others said that their relationships were, in many ways, enhanced rather than hindered by cultural diversity. Various kinds of cosmopolitan appreciation of cultural differences helped to foster the integration of migrants and the formation of positive relationships.

The study also found that these relationships are influenced in varying degrees by class and gender. Although all the migrants experienced hostility and non-hostility, middle class participants reported less hostility and more interaction with South Africans than the working class group. With respect to gender, the findings show that female migrants experienced less hostility in their various spaces of interaction compared to males.

These findings have important implications for broader relationships between migrants and host communities in South Africa. The South African context presents a unique challenge in that apartheid tended to disconnect black South Africans from the rest of Africa and thus created a people who have no sense of historical connectedness with the rest of the continent. However, as a result of sustained interactions brought about by post-apartheid African migration to South Africa, different groups are interacting in various ways which can be used to foster the integration of African immigrants. These interactions go beyond ethnic/national differences as can be seen in cases of black South Africans that choose to protect African immigrants from xenophobic attacks and march against xenophobia. They are a function of network ties developed through sustained interaction with one another and a set of processes which are the core interest of this dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANRU.....	Association of Nigerian Residents in Umhlathuze
HSP.....	Human Service Providers
NPO.....	Non-Profit Organisation
UK.....	United Kingdom

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Background to the study

The following extracts from an interview with Shola¹, a Nigerian migrant, and one with Ntuli, his South African friend, offer insight into the essence of this study's hypothesis that xenophobia does not fully describe the varied everyday relationships that exist between South Africans and African immigrants in the country. Shola is 50 years old and hails from Western Nigeria. He is a medical practitioner based in Empangeni and was sampled as middle class. He moved to Empangeni more than ten years ago and is married to a South African woman. Shola has been friends with Ntuli for more than ten years.

Efe: How would you describe your relationship with your South African neighbors?

Shola: "Because of my busy schedule at work, I usually don't have time to socialize with neighbors but whenever I meet them unexpectedly we interact pleasantly... But there are some neighbors that are not so friendly and I don't interact with them.... otherwise my neighborhood is generally friendly... There is one incident that I would never forget that happened in 2008. During the xenophobic mayhem, two of my neighbours came to the house to check up on me... One in particular apologised for what his fellow countrymen were doing. He reassured me it is not all South Africans that have such predatory attitude towards foreigners... One thing that struck me is that he offered me accommodation in his home if there was any problem."

Efe: Do cultural differences affect your relationship with your South African friends and colleagues?

Shola: "...I enlighten them about my culture and they do the same. I am partly South African not by location but by blood. My children are of South African heritage and I have come to accept the culture as mine. I practice some of the Zulu cultures that do not go against my beliefs."

Efe: You were named by Shola as his most important South African tie. How would you describe your relationship with him?

Ntuli: "... my relationship with him is more than friendship... At first I was apprehensive. I had heard a lot about Nigerians... We began to talk and I think he invited me for his party and the relationship grew thereafter".

Efe: Did cultural differences affect your relationship with Shola?

Ntuli: "Maybe initially, but as we became friends, that disappeared as I came to know more about Nigerians. ... From close contact, I can see we are almost

¹ Pseudonyms are used throughout the study in order to maintain the anonymity of the respondents.

the same... He changed my mind-set not just about Nigerians but about Africans and our common humanity”.

As these interviews show, South Africans have responded in various ways beyond xenophobia to the challenges of their interaction with other Africans, in this case, Nigerian immigrants. Similarly, Nigerians have not simply followed a path of self-segregation but have built various kinds of relationships with South Africans which have fostered their integration into their host society. In this particular case, Shola and his South African wife have two children who straddle Nigerian and South African cultures, which shows that, in practice, identities are hybrid and fluid. Overall, Shola’s daily interactions with South Africans vary from unfriendly to convivial or hospitable and he has also responded in a variety of ways. For example, he adopted some aspects of Zulu culture from his friend Ntuli and this indicates a form of hybridity. Therefore, in this case, cultural differences did not hinder the development of convivial relations but led to cultural exchange which enhanced the cosmopolitanism of both Shola and Ntuli. However, on the other hand, as critics of the contact hypothesis have argued, contact could also bring out prejudice and latent xenophobia and exacerbate conflict. According to Dixon and Durrheim (2014), although the theory that sustained contact produces cordiality and tolerance between diverse groups is to some extent valid, such contact can also produce the opposite effect of hostility and prejudice that could hamper migrant integration.

Therefore, the challenge is to understand the conditions under which prejudice and tension diminish through contact and when they increase. In Shola and Ntuli’s case, social capital was employed as a bridge to foster interaction. As Field (2003) argues, even when diversity exists within networks, social capital enables the formation of ties by bringing together people from different social divisions. While this does not imply that there are no hostile encounters and relationships between African immigrants and their South African hosts, this is only one of the many faces of the African migration story in South Africa which has not yet been fully told. Indeed, apart from xenophobic violence, South Africans have responded to the challenges posed by African immigration in various ways ranging from exclusion, to assimilation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity, entanglement and conviviality².

² Each of these concepts is explained and discussed in relation to this study in the chapters that follow.

Thus, a social network analysis of relationships between African immigrants and South Africans is useful in explaining the social behaviour of the person, persons or group under study (see Mitchell 1973; Wasserman and Faust 1994).

Migration is an on-going phenomenon throughout the world that poses huge challenges to both migrants and their host communities. Migrants have had to develop social networks with fellow migrants and members of the host community in order to enable their integration. Martino and Spoto (2006: 53) defined social networks as “the set of actors (individuals) and the ties (relationships) among them”. The sets of actors within the network are referred to as nodes and the relationships are described as linkages or flows. Mitchell defines networks as “the actual set of links of all kinds amongst a set of individuals” (1973: 2). Nelson (1988: 40) adds that networks are “sets of ties linking several actors”. All these definitions define networks as a social connection or bridge between two or more agents. For the purpose of this study, social networks are social relationships or connections that exist between an individual and another, or, on a broader scale, among groups of individuals. Scholars such as Miguel and Tranmer (2009) argue that networks are important tools for the integration of migrants into their various host communities. Using another example from the interviews conducted for this study, Tracy, a middle class female, has been resident in South Africa for more than 10 years. She calls South Africa her home and explains that although she is Nigerian, she feels more like a South African than a migrant. She adds that because she has been away from Nigeria for a long time, she regards it as a country to visit. In her words, “home is not where you are born but where you reside and exist as an individual in a society. I cannot call Nigeria home because I visit, but South Africa is where I live” (Interviewed 08/08/14). She further explains that one of the factors that enabled her social and economic integration into South Africa is her ties with South Africans. She states that “if you want be accepted in this country, you must first accept others...I am successful because of the South Africans I have as friends and colleagues. What I am today is a true reflection of the principle of *Ubuntu*³”. Tracy’s story is another example of positives networks with South Africans that exist across various spaces of interaction that have been neglected in studies on migration in this country.

³ *Ubuntu* is a South African philosophy that means I am what I am because of who we all are. It is founded on the ideal of humanity towards all.

This study focused on the nature of dyadic relationships between Nigerian migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze Municipality. The findings show that intergroup contact between South Africans and Nigerian migrants had a paradoxical effect on the nature of their networks. In some cases, it fostered conviviality and entanglement of relations and in others, latent xenophobic sentiments and hostility were resuscitated through contact. The study therefore agrees with the contact theory's postulation that contact does not simply reduce prejudice or always produce social proximity. It therefore examined the factors that fostered positive network relations formed through contact, including intimacy of contact and the mutual cooperation of Nigerians and South Africans. On the other hand, stereotypes, language and cultural differences hindered the formation of ties irrespective of social contact. In addition, interaction between individuals of equal socioeconomic status was more likely to produce conviviality in Nigerian-South African relationships (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). The study also revealed that a variety of networks exist between Nigerian migrants and South Africans which not only bridge social diversity but also enabled the integration of the Nigerian migrants in Empangeni. Two types of ties were identified, state and event ties. Nigerian migrants experienced more hostility from their event ties. However, they gained support from their dyadic ties which enabled their integration into the host community. The study showed that most of these ties were characterized by reciprocity. Cultural differences influenced the dyadic ties both positively and negatively. Some migrants enjoyed cultural exchanges and assimilation between them and their South African ties, while in other cases, language barriers and different cultural values impacted negatively on their relationships. Class was another factor that influenced the nature of intergroup relations. It was noted that although both middle and working class migrants experienced conviviality and hostility; the former were confronted by less hostility than the latter. In terms of gender, the study found that female migrants experienced less hostility than their male counterparts in their intergroup relations.

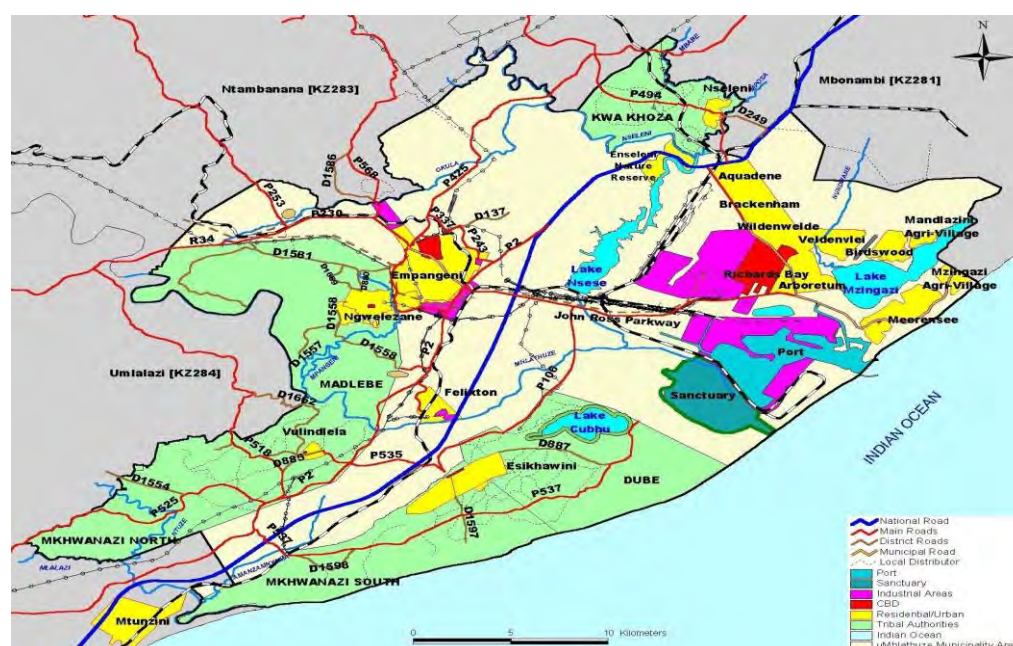
Therefore, a close examination of these interactions showed that South Africans cannot be painted with a single brush. The actions of many South Africans in the wake of the April 2015 xenophobic violence in different parts of the country underscore this point. This kind of solidarity is not surprising as South Africans have been relating to other Africans across their borders for a long time and the phenomenon of African migration is not a new one. Indeed, South Africa experienced a large influx of African immigrants who worked on the mines and

farms under harsh and exploitative conditions long before the institutionalization of apartheid. Although these labour migrants contributed to the country's economic development, they were not given citizenship status. This continued during the apartheid period where African immigration became more regulated and exploitative and was strictly for the economic benefit of a segregated state system. During this period, the two groups had a common enemy in the apartheid order. The demise of apartheid and formal democratization in 1994 inspired dreams and expectations of a more inclusive South Africa, where black South Africans hoped to maximize their potential in a more free, fair and equal society. Democracy also opened up spaces for a new influx of African immigrants which set the stage for a new form of contest for belonging between South African citizens and African migrant settlers. The major manifestation of this contest was the violent xenophobic attacks against African immigrants during May 2008 and April 2015. The nature of xenophobia in South Africa has led some scholars to argue that South African citizens tend to have more xenophobic attitudes towards African immigrants than those from other regions (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Crush 2008; Landau 2004; Matsinhe 2011; and Crush et al 2014).

While it is doubtless possible to find abundant evidence of antagonism in the relations between South Africans and African immigrants, this study set out to investigate the everyday realities of migrants in ordinary places who interact with a variety of people through their livelihood activities, marriages and social relationships, movement around towns and cities, in their residential areas, and in faith-based organisations and other elements of everyday life. It examined the networks, friendships and communities of practice (Amin 2012) which draw people into collaborations with one another across the South African-‘foreigner’ divide. It also reflected on how relations between migrants and South Africans intersect with other social categorisations such as class and gender.

Previous studies on this issue have largely focused on metro cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, amongst others (e.g., Aregbeshola 2010), neglecting the experiences of those in small towns such as Umhlathuze. The study area, Umhlathuze Municipality, is located on the north east coast of KwaZulu-Natal, and is the third largest municipality in the province with a population of 89,186 (Umhlathuze Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2010/2011). See Figure 1.1 below:

Figure 1.1: Map of Umhlathuze Municipality



Umhlathuze Municipality is also an economic hub that hosts 88.6% of the economic activities of uThungulu District Municipality. It has a “large coal terminal, aluminium smelters, mining companies, forestry and papers mills, fertilizer and many more industries” that have attracted both foreign investment and migration (Report on City of Umhlathuze State of Energy Report 2009:4). A number of African migrants have settled in the area, some of who have lived there for more than 15 years (Isike and Isike 2012). They include skilled professionals such as university lecturers, high school teachers, medical practitioners, accountants and architects from Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe and semi-skilled artisans/workers such as domestic workers, hair dressers and janitors from Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda and Zambia. This study focused on the relations between South Africans and Nigerian immigrants. Within South Africa as a whole, Nigerians were among the top three recipients of residence permits issued by the Department of Home Affairs in 2012 to African immigrants (Statistics South Africa 2013).

1.2. Research problem

As noted earlier, the literature on relations between South Africans and African immigrants in the country creates the impression that they are largely hostile. It paints South Africans as

a people that do not tolerate or accommodate foreigners, especially Black Africans (Crush 2008; Matsinhe 2011; Crush et al 2014). Xenophobia is a real problem that has plagued the country. Indeed, Crush (2008) found that many South Africans wish in principle for migrants to ‘go away’. There are numerous examples of unpleasant behaviour and some horrific examples of violence towards African immigrants, with the May 2008 and April 2015 attacks being the worst cases. However, there are also spaces of interaction, where contact between these diverse groups has produced conviviality that exists. Landau (2014: 360) notes that post-apartheid South Africa is a dual society where “novel modes of accommodation are emerging, double helix-like, with ever-evolving forms of social, economic, political exclusion.” Otherwise, how do we account for the fact that thousands of African immigrants continue to live side by side, and work and do business with South Africans as well as marry them and raise families in South Africa? This begs the issue of the narrow treatment of relations between South Africans and African immigrants in the country. Isike and Isike (2012) observe that many African immigrants operate legally in various spaces within South African society. Many are integrated with their host communities and this has been fostered by the use of social capital to bridge diversity. These stories and accounts need to be examined and the findings disseminated not only to fill the knowledge gap on this subject, but also to promote the effective planning, formulation and implementation of migration and development policies. In light of this, this study employed network analysis which is appropriate for exploring everyday relationships, to explore dyadic relations between Nigerian immigrants and South Africans in small towns in Umhlathuze Municipality.

1.3. Aim and objectives

1.3.1. Aim

The aim of this study was to holistically examine and explain the nature of interactions between Nigerian migrants and South African citizens in Umhlathuze Municipality by analysing the social network ties that connect them. Overall, it sought to investigate the extent to which relations between migrants and the host community are more than xenophobic and the ways in which migrants are able to integrate into the society in which they live through specific relationships with South Africans.

1.3.2. Objectives

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aim, the following objectives were identified:

- i. To investigate the nature of the dyadic relations that exist between Nigerian migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze Municipality
- ii. To examine the nature of the linkages or ties between Nigerian migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze Municipality
- iii. To investigate the impact of class and gender on the relationships among the nodes in the network

1.3.3. Key questions asked

- i. How do migrants living in Umhlathuze characterise their interactions and relationships with South Africans?
- ii. What relationships do migrants in the sample identify as their most important relationship with a South African, if any?
- iii. How did these ‘important’ relationships come about and evolve over time?
- iv. What does each person in an important relationship between a migrant and a South African gain from the relationship?
- v. What kinds of support are offered within these relationships?
- vi. In what ways do these relationships enable the integration of Nigerian migrants in Umhlathuze?
- vii. What do migrants who have an important relationship with a South African and the South Africans themselves think about the impact of their particular ethnic identities on their associations with one another?
- viii. How are these relationships affected by class and gender?

1.4. Overview of the Study

An overview of the remaining chapters is presented below:

Chapter Two: Theoretical framework 1: Relationship between migrants and members of the host community

This chapter reviews the relevant literature on a host community’s responses to migration in general terms. It examines distinct responses in terms of dealing with differences. These

include exclusion, assimilation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity, entanglement and conviviality and contact theory. Two cross-cutting themes, essentialism and non-essentialism on the one hand, and thinking of different identities as hierarchical or equal on the other, are discussed to allow for more systematic comparison of the different responses. For example, the chapter argues that exclusion is both essentialist and hierarchical because it seeks to totally remove differences that are deemed unacceptable, while cosmopolitanism is non-essentialist and non-hierarchical because it acknowledges the differences and allows for their co-presence.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework 2: Understanding networks

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that was used to answer a number of key research questions. It also discusses the core ideas and principles of social network theory which was employed for the research. Social network theory is used to explain the nature of relationships between African migrants and South African citizens by exploring the network ties among the various nodes. The chapter also argues that social capital, which is present in network ties characterized by socio-cultural diversity, can act as a bond or bridge to enable the sustenance of such relationships. It is also used to explain the nature and characteristics of ties as well as the variables that sustain them.

Chapter Four: Theoretical framework 3: The role of networks in migrants' integration into their host communities

This chapter reviews the literature on the role of social networks in integrating immigrants into their various host communities. It examines how migrants develop ties with members of host communities and the nature of these ties. The logic behind this chapter is that, given the dynamic nature of network ties, social networks can be used as a tool to integrate migrants into their host communities. For example, it argues that network ties that possess social capital can be used by members of the network to accrue benefits.

Chapter Five: The nature of relationships between South Africans and African migrants

This chapter presents a literature review on trends in African immigration to South Africa since 1994. It adopts a historical approach to explore how African immigration evolved from the apartheid through to the post-apartheid era. Various explanations for the general view of xenophobic relations between African migrants and South Africans are explored and their limitations are highlighted. The chapter goes beyond the xenophobia thesis to argue that there are other spaces where African immigrants and South Africans interact every day, forging other kinds of relationships that tell a different story about South Africans and how they deal with immigration and the integration of immigrants. It examines how social network ties which drive interactions between African immigrants and South Africans have fostered the integration of the former. The chapter also argues that South Africans support African immigrants in many ways as was reflected in the massive demonstration of support (pro-African immigration protests, food, shelter) in the wake of the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks.

Chapter Six: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology used for this study. It describes the research design and discusses the epistemological justification, limitations of the study, the ethical considerations that informed the research and my positioning as the researcher.

Chapter Seven: Nigerian migrants' networks with South Africans

This empirical chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with 36 Nigerian migrants. It explains the nature of their relationships with South Africans and how this impacts on their integration into the host community. The chapter shows that the drivers of migration from Nigeria to South Africa include political crises, study, employment and the need to join a spouse. The sites of interactions include workplaces, places of worship and neighbourhoods. The most important ties with South Africans were found to be friendship ties, kinship ties and ties with work colleagues. The findings presented across different themes show that there was evidence of hostility towards Nigerian migrants in their various

sites of interaction with South Africans. However, there were also instances of cosmopolitanism, hybridity and entanglement. It is argued that relationships and interactions between Nigerian migrants and their South African hosts occurred in both private and public contexts and aided the integration of the former even though there were bumps on the road to integration.

Chapter Eight: South Africans' ties with African migrants

This chapter presents and analyzes the nature of relations between South Africans and Nigerian migrants based on the empirical findings generated from interviews conducted with 32 South Africans within the networks of the Nigerian migrants. It also offers a systematic explanation of the findings of the study. The findings show that the most important ties with Nigerian migrants were friendship ties, kingship ties and ties with work colleagues and clergy. An important finding was that there have been cultural exchanges between Nigerians and South Africans as a result of the frequency of interaction between these two groups. These led to the hybridisation of the identities of some of the South Africans to the point where they felt they had become more African than they thought they were. Thus, it is argued that contact and network formation not only have the potential to foster the integration of African immigrants, but also influence the relationships that bridge the differences between migrants and host communities.

Chapter Nine: Lived experiences of Nigerians and their South African Ties

This chapter presents the lived experiences of four Nigerian migrants, one from each stratified group. These brief biographies show the divergent paths through which migrants can integrate ranging from hostility and exclusion to cosmopolitanism, hybridity, assimilation, entanglement and conviviality. The analysis of dyadic relations between these Nigerian migrants and their South African alters shows the varied nature of ties that in some instances, enabled integration and in others did not depending on the parties' responses to each other.

Chapter Ten: Summary and conclusion

The concluding chapter provides an overview of the study. It discusses its findings in line with the stated objectives and draws conclusions. Suggestions are also made for further research. Using the case of Nigerian migrants, it shows that there are positive relations between African migrants and their host communities in South Africa which developed as a result of network contacts with one another. Although varied, the interactions and what binds them are deeply personal beyond ethnic and national differences as can be seen in cases where black South Africans chose to protect African immigrants from xenophobic attacks and marched against xenophobia. Suggestions for further research include the interface between networks amongst migrants and networks between migrants. Furthermore, beyond dyadic relations, a network study of multiple relations between South Africans and African migrants would provide a more holistic and illuminating picture of African immigration in South Africa which could have positive policy implications.

CHAPTER 2: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND THE HOST COMMUNITY

An enduring theme of migration studies is the way in which migrants and host communities relate to one another. The arrival of migrants necessarily changes the ethnic, economic, religious and other aspects of a host community (Hugo 2005). One of the challenges confronting host communities in dealing with immigration is how to respond to social differences. Hugo (2005) explains that the global increase in immigration has heightened concern about the extent to which host communities accept the growing socio-cultural diversification of their societies. Responses range from extreme exclusion and segregation to total acceptance and integration. However, Bennet (2011) maintains that two unattainable responses to cultural differences exist on these extreme poles. In his words, on the one hand is “the ideal of complete non-interaction: we don’t engage, and we (and they) don’t change. At the other pole is the ideal of complete amalgamation, from which some global homogenization eventually emerges” (Bennet 2011: 29). For his part, Regout (2011) highlights three responses which he refers to as exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism. This study concurs with this formulation, but argues that these processes can be extended to include other processes. For example, Bennet (2011: 29) states that there are various “models of admixture” between these ends, and as such, he identified three additional overlapping responses along the spectrum, cosmopolitanism, hybridity and entanglement. These responses to immigration are discussed in greater detail in the sections that follow. However, it is useful to first explore their pertinence to the broader objectives and arguments of this study in terms of going beyond the xenophobia thesis to gain a holistic understanding of relations between Nigerian migrants and South Africans.

2.1. Exclusion

Exclusion is a response of non-acceptance of immigrants by the host community. It is a broad social science concept that has also been employed in migration studies. For instance, Edward (2005) explains how the British colonial government used exclusion in its American colony to prevent the entry of unwanted immigrants. He notes that as far back as the 17th century, “many colonies rejected foreigners who were likely to become a public charge. Here the British government also used the opportunity of colonization to rid itself of thousands of undesirables, including social misfits, convicts, and men who were driven by desperation to take a chance in the wilds of America” (Edward 2005: n.p.). Exclusion aimed to create a

society that was free of unwanted immigrants that would threaten the socio-cultural life of the new colony. Exclusion can result from a set of people that thinks of itself as a relatively homogenous group which regards those that are different as potential disruptions or threats.

These processes have been elaborated within social identity theory. Tajfel and Turner (1979), cited in Rubin and Hewstone (1998) developed social identity theory to explain how social identity influences certain inter-group behaviours. In studies of relations between groups, social identity theory emphasizes differences and differentiation. It argues that individual identities are usually a creation of social identities that result from belonging to a group. Individual behaviour and values often reflect the views of the group they identify with (Padilla and Perez 2003: 42). Stinson (2009: 8) states that identity is a social construction through which people acquire meaning and a sense of belonging. Hogg (1993) adds that individuals' membership of a social group, to a great extent, influences their sense of self and how they perceive themselves. The individual therefore draws his or her personal identity from the group's identity. Indeed, as Turner et al. (1987) contend, individual identities are often created through various levels of categorization that exist in their relations with people in the society and these identities are usually based on ethnic, racial, gender, religious and political associations.

According to Stets and Burke (2000: 225), belonging to a social group is dependent on an individual's identity which is perceived to be similar to that of the members of the group. In their words,, "having a particular social identity means being at one with a certain group, being like others in the group, and seeing things from the group's perspective... the basis of social identity is in the uniformity of perception and action among group members" (Stets and Burke 2000: 226). In this context, belonging to a social group depends greatly on homogeneity, thereby discouraging differences among group members. Tajfel and Turner explain that including those with homogenous identity into a social group invariably leads to the exclusion of those that are thought to be different. They reiterate that the emphasis on the homogeneity of group members creates a process of categorization resulting in an *us* and *them* divide which could lead to discrimination in favour of the in-group at the expense of the out-group. They add "that the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups – that is,

social categorization per se – is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favouring the in-group” (Tajfel and Turner 1979, cited in Rubin and Hewstone 1998: 322).

These groupings cut across various levels, ranging from the local scale of class identification within a social organisation; to ethnicity and race within territorial boundaries; a broader scale which encompasses national identity; and regional identity beyond territorial borders. However the category of national identity is particularly important since this is the scale at which citizenship occurs and is mapped onto a national territory with internationally recognised boundaries that can be policed. In cases where certain groups are excluded, the host community employs certain strategies, for example, indigeneity, ethnicity and ancestral linkages, which are entrenched in government policies to maintain the status quo. Medda-Windischer (2014: 12-13) aptly captures this phenomenon when he contends that host communities in Europe exclude migrant groups “by perpetuating primordial and ethnonationalist ideologies and by putting emphasis on blood loyalty, common ethnic origin and homogeneous culture (one people one nation)”.

Ethnonationalist ideology, also referred to as ethnic nationalism, is built around claims of common ethnic and cultural heritage. Koopmans and Statham, cited in Guigni et al (1999: 230) describe such nationalism as a notion that “asserts the unity of the people on the basis of cultural belonging to a presumed or real primordial identity, or ethnic group”. Therefore ethnic nationalism seeks to retain a culturally homogeneous nation. Heath and Tilley state that ethnic nationalism is conceived from a nation’s tendency “to place greater emphasis on bloodlines, ancestry and cultural assimilation, that is with ascribed characteristics that are more or less fixed at birth or during early socialization” (2005: 120). Lewin-Epstein and Levanon (2005: 94) add that it binds members on the basis of common descent. Members of an ethnic-based community might fiercely resist the integration of migrants. Therefore, ethnic nationalism is less accommodating of immigrants and makes nationalists prone to xenophobia (Lewin-Epstein and Levanon 2005). In their view, “the ethnic element of national identity is based on ascriptive characteristics and an organic perception, the legitimacy of which is (culturally) threatened by immigrants. In such a context (or for individuals espousing this form of national identity), status maintenance motivations of dominant group members may lead to negative attitudes towards foreigners” (Lewin-Epstein

and Levanon 2005: 96). One of the consequences is the implementation of policies that ensure exclusion at the borders of these host communities.

Countries have employed exclusionist policies as a strategy to close their borders to unwanted migrants. A typical example is the contemporary exclusion policy in Europe. Stolcke (1995: 1) notes that European countries have attempted to close their borders to immigrants who are seen as a “threat to the national unity of the host countries because they are culturally different”. UNITED (2015: n.p.) maintains that “Europe's exclusion policy – a policy of border closing that makes it almost impossible to enter Europe regularly, that lacks re-settlement programs and cannot guarantee refugees a safe transfer to other countries – has forced tens of thousands of people to resort to irregular ways of getting to a country where they are safe and where economical survival is possible”. The most accessible point of entry for these unwanted and illegal migrants is through the Mediterranean Sea (Lutterbeck 2006: 60). Various governments have tried to stop ships carrying these migrants by arresting and deporting those rescued or caught. Although extremely risky and unsafe, migrants persist in their efforts to enter Europe.

Differential exclusion is a softer form of exclusion which involves the marginalization of migrants in certain spheres of the host community. It could be policy initiated or a response by ordinary members of host communities without any instruction from the authorities. Policy initiated differential exclusion “is characterised by restrictive policies excluding immigrants from the political community, aimed at artificially maintaining a temporal character to immigration” (Regout 2011: 8). Although the host community might open up certain spaces that allow migrants to function, for example the labour sector; these spaces are stringently regulated in order to ensure that they remain temporary, without any option of becoming permanent (see Balzacq and Carrera 2006: 93). In this case, migrants are prevented from being fully incorporated into the host community through the implementation of stringent policies. They are temporarily admitted to the economic subsystem but are hindered from integrating into the socio-cultural and political spheres (Pentikainen 2008). The reason for admitting immigrants is often economic and their participation in the labour process remains an important goal. This is a win-win situation for the host country as in most cases it benefits economically from migrants’ presence while ensuring their exclusion and retaining

its social character. Schierup et al (2006: 11) capture this phenomenon thus: “differential exclusion means accepting immigrants only within strict functional and temporal limits: they are welcome as workers, but not as settlers; as individuals but not as families or communities; as temporary sojourners but not as long-term residents”. Vermeulen (1997: 6) adds that “the countries involved do not want to prevent immigration at any price, or simply throw out immigrants who have lived there indefinitely; they are just hesitant to accept their presence.”

A typical example of differential exclusion occurred during the apartheid era in South Africa. Africans from Southern African countries like Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were contracted to work as labourers on the mines and farms but could not attain citizenship (Crush et al 2005: 25-26). Legislation was promulgated to ensure that they were temporary sojourners. The apartheid regime tried to do the same thing to black South Africans by transferring their citizenship to ethnic ‘homelands’ that they could only leave on a temporary basis to work (Singh 2008: 21).

2.2. Assimilation

The notion of assimilation was expanded by the Chicago integration school of thought in the 1920s. It sought to explain intergroup relations in America in the context of cities with growing populations due to immigration. Park argues that difference and diversity are inevitable but that, at some point, diversity will merge into a melting pot. He contends that for many Americans, the notion of a homogeneous community, where differences are non-existent is becoming a mirage due to migration and urbanization. He adds that the community is divided into two groups of people, the host community that is already in a place, and new arrivals, sometimes called guests (Park 1935 cited in Rex and Mason 1986: 13). These recent arrivals introduce differences and diversities into the perceived uniformity of the host community. Assimilation occurs when the socio-cultural differences disappear and migrants adopt the culture of the host community. Rather than implement policies that ensure their exclusion, assimilation allows for migrants’ incorporation into the host community on condition that they discard their socio-cultural identity and adopt that of the host community.

Emerson explains that assimilation is a process whereby the “minority immigrant group has totally blended in with the landscape of the country of adoption – in terms of citizenship and mastery of the language, and as a matter of attitudes and perceived identity..., and is perceived by the population of the host nation as one of us” (2011: 21). In this case difference is treated as an obstacle to integration and adopting the culture of the host in order to preserve the community’s homogeneity enables immigrants’ integration. This paints the host community as a unified homogenous core that immigrants who exist within the periphery can be part of if they decide to adopt the core’s character. Therefore, the onus falls on immigrants, which is why Castle describes it as “...a one-sided process of adaptation in which migrants are expected to give up distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population” (1998: 247). Thus, the adoption of the hosts’ culture and behaviour is the prerequisite for incorporation and integration. This could be an unforced process (i.e., one that simply happens over time) or a deliberate strategy led by the authorities, possibly in alliance with dominant groups.

Assimilation as an unforced process can take two forms, classical straight-line or segmented. Straight-line assimilation connotes that, over time, migrants continuously adopt the characteristics of the host community. This model assumes that the host identity is dominant and can therefore neutralise the differences of the migrants. Scholars like Warner and Srole (cited in Coates 2006: 4) assume that migrants in the United States will eventually absorb their hosts’ identities over time. Chin (2012) describes straight-line assimilation as not only continuous and progressive but also irreversible over a long period of time. Simply put, over time, migrants’ identities will be socio-culturally absorbed into the identity of the dominant host and homogeneity may be achieved in future generations due to continuous contact and interaction with host members. This is likened to a ‘melting pot’ where all differences blend with the dominant identity. As Chin (2012: 20) explains, it does not provide for “alternative paths for success that involve maintaining roots to an ethnic identity or community”, among others. It was this shortcoming that gave birth to the segmented assimilation model.

The segmented assimilation model does not criticize the principles of assimilation but questions whether it is indeed a continuous and irreversible process and contends that migrants assimilate differently and not necessarily through one path. Rather than viewing

assimilation as a progressive and continuous process where migrants' differences ultimately dissolve as they become more like the host, protagonists of segmented assimilation argue that there are other paths through which migrants assimilate. The host community is not a homogeneous society but is segmented; Chin (2012: 4) explains that it is divided into various racial groups and classes, and migrants' cannot all achieve uniform assimilation. Using American society as a case study, Xie and Greenman (2011: 969) note that there is more than one way of being American which straight line assimilation does not take into consideration. Segmented assimilation is therefore the "diverse patterns of adaptation whereby immigrant groups differentially adopt the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of divergent cultural groups" (Abraido-Lanza et al 2006: 1344). This anomaly was not addressed by the classical theory. Brown and Bean (2006: 6) argue that "assimilation does appear to elude some immigrants' descendants, even as late as the third generation. However, uneven patterns of convergence do not necessarily indicate lack of assimilation, but rather may reflect a 'bumpy' rather than straight-line course".

Furthermore, using American society as a point of reference, various scholars have categorized these "bumpy" and "straight-line courses" into three paths (Portes and Zhou 1993; Xie and Greenman 2011). Path I is consistent with classical views on assimilation. Xie and Greenman (2011) describe it as conventional upward or straight-line assimilation. It is referred to as "upward mobility" because migrants become assimilated into the middle class of American society. Path II is described as "downward mobility" because migrants become assimilated into the urban underclass (Xie and Greenman 2005: 3). In Paths 1 and 2, migrants do away with their differences but they assimilate into two segments differentiated by two divergent outcomes based on economic status or class. The third path is quite different in terms of removing differences. According to Xie and Greenman (2005: 4), "Path III is distinguished from Paths I and II by process, specifically whether assimilation has been partial or complete". In this case, migrants do not do away with their differences but also adopt the culture of the host community. For example, Weaver (2010: 18) suggests that migrants "attain upward mobility by way of retaining ethnic ties and characteristics". Therefore, the process of assimilation in this path does not occur in totality. These paths explain various scenarios for being assimilated into the host community.

Assimilation can be a deliberate strategy by policy-makers to do away with migrants' differences. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) draw attention to the "context of reception" that has not only to do with the attitude or reception of the host community, but the structures and legislation that influence migrants' assimilation. It includes immigration policies and legislation which influence members of the host society's attitudes, stereotypes and prejudice towards immigrants and their differences (Portes and Zhou 1993). For instance, "until the 1950s, Australia used a policy of migrant assimilation. This implied that immigrants entering a host country had the obligation to shed their 'cultural baggage' and to undergo a supposed straightforward adaptation process until their ethnic heritage was virtually unnoticeable" (Lewins 2001 cited in Coates 2012: 2). Prior to this, the French colonialists adapted this policy in their various African colonies. Through the implementation of the French Assimilation policy, various African subjects whose culture was seen as subordinate to that of the French were allowed to attain not just the political and civic rights of the French but the French identity if they renounced their culture (Idowu 1969). The aim was to achieve a French monoculture or homogeneity in the various colonies.

In short, assimilationist approaches, whether as a process or policy, see migrants' differences as a problem to the host society and attempt to manage it by migrants assuming the social behaviours and attitudes of the hosts. A host community that adopts assimilation as a strategy to integrate migrants aims to sustain a socio-culturally homogeneous society, which sees differences as a threat to the unified cultural fabric of the community. As Vani and John (2009: 34) put it, "the aim of assimilation is a monocultural, perhaps even a monofaith, society". Assimilation is closely linked and can give rise to xenophobia and vice versa. Since xenophobia is the fear and repulsion of diversity, such perceptions held by host members may motivate their desire for migrants to abandon their differences and adopt the host community's way of life. For instance, during the colonial era, the French granted Senegalese natives French citizenship as long as they were willing to abandon their culture and adopt that of the French (Lambert 1993: 241). By implication, assimilation can become one of the consequences of xenophobia even if unintended. This is so because some forms of assimilation are mainly led by immigrants themselves who find it expedient to consciously adapt to the society, or end up doing so unconsciously over generations because those who grow up in the new society learn its language, beliefs and norms as children. Similarly,

xenophobia can be linked to exclusion as the failure to assimilate would ultimately lead to exclusion.

However, migrants' assimilation into the culture of the host community does not guarantee inclusion. Indeed, in some cases, it fuels exclusion. Citing the West African experience, Adida (2014) notes that assimilation protects migrants' from state policing, but not other spheres of immigrant policing which include members of the host community. While assimilation legally integrates migrants into the geographic space, it may exclude them from the social space. She argues further that

the implications of cultural similarity between immigrants and hosts — cultural overlap — are thus threatening to an indigenous merchant who wants to limit immigrant access to indigenous networks and benefits in the competition for scarce resources... Consequently, high-overlap immigrants may face exclusion because of their shared cultural repertoires with their hosts (Adida 2014: 13).

Therefore, as discussed in Chapter four of this study, assimilation enables migrants to develop networks as a tool to accrue social benefits. This enables them to compete with host members; it is for this reason that migrants who have assimilated experience exclusion from the host community.

Both assimilation and differential exclusion seek to do away with differences but while differential exclusion aims to protect the cultural character of the host by discouraging complete integration, assimilation permits integration, although with the condition of adopting the character of the host society. One of the commonalities of these bifurcated approaches to dealing with social difference (exclusion and assimilation) is the assumption of the homogeneity of a host community. This notion is flawed and exaggerated. Van Krieken (2012: 501-502) argues that one of the problems with both schools of thought is the presumption that a host society is “an already integrated part of the society” without taking into cognizance that “the social fabric, structure and dynamics of a society needs to have at least something to say about the lines of conflict which divide it...”. Bauman (2001: 2-3) describes the ideal of a community which is problem free as “paradise lost”, because in reality an integrated, homogenous, problem-free society does not exist. Therefore,

homogeneity is a mirage that does not take differences such as socio-economic distinctions amongst citizens into account.

2.3. Multiculturalism

The third strategy to manage differences between migrants and host communities is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism originated in the 1970s based on a general philosophy of how to manage social differences in society (Neumannova 2007: 2). After the Second World War there was increased immigration of labour from the former colonies to Europe as a result of labour shortages. Diversity increased and this was resisted by Europeans who conceived the differences as a threat to their cultural existence (Beckett and Macey 2001: 310). This led to the exclusion of minority groups. Resistance to exclusion and inequality influenced the adoption of multiculturalism as a strategy for integration (Kymlicka 2012). Forrest and Dunn (2010: 82) add that while multicultural policies vary among countries, they are based “on the recognition (and in some cases, the celebration) of cultural or racial differences, and on ensuring equality and non-discrimination among groups. Thus, they have replaced earlier visions of a melting pot or a homogeneous national culture”.

While assimilation seeks to do away with the differences migrants bring with them by making them take on the culture of the host community, multiculturalism allows these differences to exist. As Nagel and Hopkins put it, multiculturalism challenges the notion that “nationhood and integration demanded homogeneity and conformity to a standard culture. Multiculturalism gave minority groups recognition, and it affirmed and legitimised, to a greater or lesser degree, visible cultural differences” (2010: 4). This policy was based on the idea of respect for cultural differences. Grassby describes it as a situation in which “each ethnic group desiring it is permitted to create its own communal life and preserve its own cultural heritage indefinitely, while taking part in the general life of the nation” (cited in Stokes 1997: 134). Multiculturalism as a strategy for integration aims to create spaces for the existence of differences, thereby enabling the sustenance of various identities that may be alien to the host community. Kudenko and Phillips (2010: 70) observe that “multiculturalism has been credited with a great reconstituting power: the right of individuals to craft their own identities.”

Kymlicka (2012) argues that, in order to ensure that minority groups' cultural characteristics are allowed to exist alongside the dominant groups', legislation should be promulgated to protect their existence in both the private and public spheres. Therefore, effective multiculturalism is built on the principle of "the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity" (Kymlicka 2012: 1). In this way, multiculturalism encompasses legal and political inclusion of those perceived to be different. Hence, Dis Skarpadottir describes multiculturalism as a situation in which all members of a state and immigrants are granted civil rights irrespective of their country of origin, and are allowed to preserve their cultural background within the host community (2004: 586). This creates a space for the existence of such differences without prejudice. Vermeulen (1997) argues that a multicultural society is not just a society with multiple cultures or identities, but one that protects these differences. A multicultural society is a community "which urges at least the recognition and tolerance of cultural differences, and sometimes even the active stimulation of cultural diversity" (Vermeulen 1997: 134). Westermeyer adds that a host community can be described as multicultural or pluralist when it allows the existence of diverse cultural identities (1989: 28). Similarly, Casey (1998: 117) reiterates that "in multicultural societies, there is more respect for the maintenance of the cultures of origin of the immigrants as part of the integration process that sees society more as a mosaic of cultures". Multiculturalism argues that these differences must be respected and allowed to thrive and in this way, plural societies can achieve unity irrespective of differences. As Kymlicka (1989 cited in Neumannova 2007: 3) argues,

membership in a cultural community is essential to our personal identity and provides individuals with the necessary framework to exercise their true liberty.... cultural recognition and identity are values belonging to all human beings, and they are also a premise for our individual autonomy. The attempts of multiculturalism to guarantee individuals' rights, mainly consisting in the possibility to change their own cultural identity, lead us to conclude that these rights are embodied in internal principles holding for any community...

Therefore, according to the multiculturalist view, achieving a homogeneous society through the implementation of exclusive or assimilative policies in order to do away with differences is not a prerequisite for unity. Makedon (1996: 4) argues that "multiculturalism is not the

aggregate of so many ethnocentric groups, each one of which coalesces around its particular island of cultural values, but on the contrary a tightly interwoven network of cultural centres that every citizen feels free to learn from". This cultural centre is not a battleground for the supremacy of cultures but a basis for integration and developing unity based on respect for differences. In order to achieve respect for and recognition of cultures, they should not be presented in hierarchies, that is, there should be no categorization of dominant/superior or minority/inferior cultures. One of the strengths of multiculturalism is that allowing cultural differences to exist not only ensures unity and respect for human rights but benefits host communities. Maagero and Simonsen (2005: 147) argue that the differences and diversities of migrants' cultures can have progressive and positive effects on communities if they are allowed to exist.

Thus, multiculturalism represents a mosaic of identities and cultures that coexist without exclusion or deprivation for the benefit of both migrants and members of the host community. However, it has been criticized for failing to enable the integration of migrants. For example, Herbert et al (2008: 53-54) argue that multiculturalism further fragments society, leading to greater inequality. They assert that allowing the existence of cultural differences threatens the values and culture of the host community especially when these values conflict, further fragmenting the state. Some scholars argue that multiculturalism has the dual effect of propagating cultural differences and dividing the host community by breaking the "common bonds" that tie them together (Wun Fung 2010: 33). Simply put, multiculturalism is criticized for being a threat to national unity or the idea of nationhood.

Other scholars have argued that multiculturalism allows for differences that are not necessarily absorbed into the core of communities but exist independently in society. This co-existence has been described as "parallel lives"⁴ where differences exist but are isolated from one another, thereby discouraging integration (Amin 2002). Cantle's (2001) study showed how two groups existed within the same geographic space and shared a common citizenship but had heterogeneous cultures which made for little meaningful interaction, thereby resulting in parallel lives. Therefore, the presence of differences or the

⁴ Parallel lives was the term used to describe the socio-cultural and economic polarization of white and Asian residents in urban areas in Britain (Cantle 2001: 9).

implementation of multicultural policies that allow for the existence of these differences does not lead to integration. In this situation, “different communities lived, worked and socialised separately, thereby creating an uncivil atmosphere of mistrust, jealousy and intolerance” (Wun Fung 2010: 34). Implicit within this ideal mosaic of a multicultural society are socio-cultural and economic demarcations that create multiple nations that lead parallel lives. It depicts a picture of a heterogeneous society with mini-homogeneous communities that are isolated from each other in different ethnic or racial enclaves.

Multiculturalism has also been criticized as being sometimes selective in its acceptance of diversity. While it boasts of creating a plural society that allows cultural differences to co-exist, this does not necessarily imply total acceptance of the differences migrants bring to society. Acceptance of these differences is often selective and regulated as some cultural differences may be considered morally and legally unacceptable by the host society and may in fact violate its constitution. For instance, the call by “minority devout” Muslims in Canada to create a separate Sharia tribunal to deal with legal matters guided by Sharia law was opposed by “silent majority” Muslims in the country (Bhabha 2009: 50-51). Multiculturalism has therefore been regulated, such that some cultural differences that do not conform to state practices are excluded. That is, the host society creates a space for the integration of strangers, but with certain reservations and rejection of aspects of their cultures.

Using a documentary, Fortier (2007) explains how new forms of multicultural intimacy are imagined and how they are applied in dealing with differences in Britain. She notes that 21st century Britain adopted a ‘new politics of multicultural intimacy’ which aimed to encourage the integration of strangers (Fortier 2007: 107). The goal was to ensure the integration of those who were perceived as different with a culture alien to that of their host. Fortier notes that the problem lay in how to achieve the goal of integration. In her words,

the issue is not only how do we live peacefully side-by-side, but how do we reach out to and embrace each/the other? ...However, two tensions arise within the national fantasy of multiculturalism: first, a tension between, on the one hand, a rhetoric of loving thy neighbour as different, and, on the other, the utopian moment of abstraction, in which the nation is an assumed bond of

shared allegiance where differences are obliterated under a veneer of universal diversity – we are all different, we are all ethnics, we are all migrants, hence we are all the same. Second, the national embrace is in tension with a moral racist politics that underpins the neo-liberalist turn toward tolerance, integration, and diversity, in which the rhetoric of the national bond emphasises the glue of values rather than the glue of ethnicity...Within this moral politics, the problem of living together becomes a problem of them adjusting to our values, being gracious guests in our home

While the United Kingdom (UK) can boast of being a pluralist and multicultural society that encourages the integration of strangers who are allowed to exist with their differences, it is also wary of certain differences that collide with its national identity; therefore, it encourages some level of assimilation. As Fortier (2007: 108) puts it, “concealed within the narrative of integration is an assimilationist strategy”. A multicultural strategy for integration is to some extent selective in a bid to compromise on certain but not necessarily all the differences; it therefore becomes a blend of assimilation and plurality.

2.4. Cosmopolitanism

Given the limitations of multiculturalism, some commentators have turned to idea of cosmopolitanism as a framework for diversity. Cosmopolitanism is “understood as either an openness towards cultural difference, as a normative ideal acknowledging the moral worth of the individual regardless of origin or as a new type of political project addressing the limitations of the nation-state in a globalising world” (Haupt 2010: 6). Two core notions lie at the heart of cosmopolitanism, deterritorialization and openness.

Deterritorialization is a process by which a social agent’s status of belonging transcends political boundaries. According to Vieten (2006: 268), “deterritorialization underlines the dislocating effect of the loss of a geographical tie”. In cosmopolitanism, the migrants’ geographical ties extend beyond the nation-state to the global arena. Guilianotti and Robertson (2004: 34) further explain that it is a process that involves “the weakening spatial connections of cultural practices, identities, products and communities”. The process of deterritorialization is a consequence of globalization. Cosmopolitanism cannot be separated

from globalisation; indeed, the former is a consequence of the latter and they are mutually reinforcing. As Yeoh (2013: 97) explains, cosmopolitanism “signifies a unifying vision for urban democracy and governance, and a culture of openness and acceptance of difference and otherness in a globalising world”. In the same vein, Yarram and Shetty (2014: 45) contend that,

Cosmopolitanism is often heralded as a cultural orientation ideally suited to the sociocultural and economic complexities emanating from the accelerating pace of globalization... The breaking of barriers in trade and the incredible amount of information flow necessitated by the new age media have resulted in the creation of a unique kind of cosmopolitanism that thrives on the idea of facelessness in the face of race for identity. The idea is to make a mark in a world of opportunity provided by changing socio-economic conditions irrespective of one’s cast, creed, or region.

Globalization did not just usher in the permeability of borders but also of citizenship. Increased movement of people led to a novel conception of the position of migrants and their integration in the host community. It resulted in the creation of a space for migrants’ existence in the host community beyond the traditional territorial demarcations of citizenship to a more global one. Brock (2010: 362) explains that the main idea of cosmopolitanism in relation to migrants’ integration is that “every person has global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern and is therefore entitled to equal respect and consideration no matter what her citizenship status or other affiliations happen to be. It is frequently supposed that a cosmopolitan must be committed to more open borders...” It is this global perception of rights and privileges that cosmopolitans enjoy as deterritorialized citizens.

Neoliberalism and globalization have also influenced citizenship in ways that make it transnational and contractual. The opening up of borders which has led to increased movement of goods, services and people has also redefined citizenship. For instance, Haque argues that “the emergence of a neoliberal state formation in various regions and countries has significantly changed the meaning and composition of citizenship, especially in terms of the eroding rights or entitlements of citizens caused by the policy agenda pursued by such a state” (2008: 120). It has influenced a new type of citizenship which challenges the territorial and social character of the traditional notion. The citizenship praxis that was based on liberal

principles is being challenged by the economic and political forces of neoliberalism and globalization (Fudge 2005: 631). As Mitchell (2003: 387) puts it, “if the western citizen of the 19th century was a member of a consolidating nation, the contemporary citizen of the 21st century is a member of a deterritorializing state”. Therefore, the deterritorialization of citizenship implies the expansion of citizenship beyond national space.

A community is labelled cosmopolitan if it hosts people with different backgrounds and cultures without expecting them to assimilate. This is similar to multiculturalism although it further acknowledges global citizenship or appreciates the deterritorialization of citizenship and culture. Previously, a person who was fond of travelling or migrating, and who developed social networks across borders or felt at home everywhere was referred to as cosmopolitan (Yarram and Shetty 2014: 47). In contemporary times, they could be referred to as global nomads who emigrate to places outside their country of birth. This is why cosmopolitanism has been likened to “uprootedness” (Ribeiro 2001). It is not because the cosmopolitan or migrant lacks territorial citizenship but because they can access citizenship rights in more places beyond their territorial roots. Werbner (1999: 34) explains that it “does not necessarily imply an absence of belonging, but the possibility of belonging to more than one ethnic and cultural localism simultaneously” (Werbner 1999: 34). Using different parlance, Freemantle and Landau (2011) describe this as “in-betweenness”. In their words, “exhibiting a permanent ‘in-betweenness’ typical of cosmopolitanism, migrants shift between different networks, identities and places...”. In-betweenness refers to the geographical space that cosmopolitans belong to; a space between their home and host country. Therefore, cosmopolitanism explains migrants’ global identity, cultural or political, which transcends territorial boundaries.

The second notion of cosmopolitanism, openness, explains how a cosmopolitan host community is expected to respond to the integration of migrants. In this case, cosmopolitanism does not aim to erode the boundaries that sustain othering based on differences. Rather, it is founded on the principle of openness and acceptance of otherness and cultural differences (Haupt 2010: 1). It acknowledges the existence of the *us* and *them* divide, otherwise known as *othering*, and aims to bridge these differences. Skrbis and Woodward (2007: 2) define openness as “an individual’s predisposition to feel interested in,

accepting of or empathetic to things originating in other cultures or other countries”. Rovisco and Norwicka (2011) add that this notion is founded on the principles of universalism and humanity. They state that it involves “*openness* to humanity, valuing of universalism and embracing of diversity that comes as an inevitable consequence of moving beyond local and particular” (Rovisco and Norwicka 2011: 54). Diversity therefore becomes an unavoidable consequence of cosmopolitanism, and openness entails accepting the inevitable.

Although this idea of cosmopolitanism in relation to migrants’ diversity is similar to that of multiculturalism, its response to their integration is quite different. As with multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism is founded on respect for socio-cultural differences. For example, according to Rogers (2011: 3), “cosmopolitanism is focused on the celebration of diversity and the acceptance of difference.” He adds that acceptance of diversity does not imply coexistence but rather the quest to propagate homogeneity through diversity. Hollinger (1994: 3) asserts that multiculturalism is wary of differences; however, rather than doing away with them, it allows them to exist but isolates them from the host community. He adds that pluralism sees “cosmopolitanism as a threat to identity, while cosmopolitanism sees in pluralism a provincial unwillingness to engage the complex dilemmas and opportunities actually presented by contemporary life” (Hollinger 1994: 4). In contrast, cosmopolitanism acknowledges the presence of differences but aims to connect these diversities by merging them into a global identity that is more universal and open. Yarram and Shetty (2014: 46) concur that “multiculturalism is based on preserving inherent differences while cosmopolitanism is based on bridging them”. Bridging differences does not imply assimilation into a “melting pot” but general acceptance and tolerance and even celebrating them (Yarram and Shetty 2014: 46). Silverstone (2007: 14) reiterates that “the cosmopolitan individual embodies, in his or her person, a doubling of identity and identification; the cosmopolitan as an ethic, embodies a commitment, in deed and obligation, to recognize not just the stranger as other, but the other in oneself. Cosmopolitanism implies and requires, therefore, both reflexivity and toleration”. Haupt (2010: 5) contends that cosmopolitanism involves not just learning about diversities but “an emphasis on shared human identity, an ability to manoeuvre cultural difference and to transcend one’s own culture and home actively”. This implies that diversity and othering is pertinent to all, both the host and the stranger, and should therefore be equally confronted by all, and that these diversities should not be hierarchical.

Therefore, unlike a multicultural society which creates a mosaic society characterized by different communities existing independently of one another; a cosmopolitan society seeks to create spaces where many different kinds of people can flourish without socio-cultural boundaries. Yarram and Shetty (2014: 1835) describe it as

a reinvented notion of modern utopia that provides a free space, unlimited opportunity and importantly freedom to live one's life as per one's will. Any instance of disruption to this fabric of life is viewed as a threat to the very notion of the cosmopolitanism.

This description depicts an inclusive society without prejudice. However, as with multiculturalism, critics have argued that a cosmopolitan society is selective and thus discriminatory. Yeoh (2013) explains that cosmopolitanism has two contradictory effects on migrants' integration. Although it is founded on the principles of openness, tolerance and acceptance of differences, it perpetuates global othering based on economic status (Yeoh 2013: 97). He uses Singapore, a growing economic hub, to underline this point. This cosmopolitan city and global city-state that is characterized by "super" diversity and immigration (Yeoh 2013: 97) nonetheless categorizes migrants based on their "economic diversity". He explains that the drive to create a cosmopolitan city which is economically competitive in the global arena has "resulted in certain inequalities..., [described] as cosmopolitanism which extends upwards, not sideways... While those identified as 'foreign talent' are welcomed and valorised as migrant talent which energises society..., those who are not – i.e. foreign workers – tend to be treated as disposable labour" (Yeoh 2013: 97).

Cosmopolitanism can thus become another form of exclusion based on class. The host community chooses to accept and tolerate the diversity of migrants and even relinquish global citizenship status only if it can benefit from them economically. Haupt (2010: 2) explains that,

the nature of one's mobility is assumed to be crucial for the development of a cosmopolitan disposition. Those who travel out of a position of privileged choice (and thus with a secure place to return to), such as (Western) business elites, moneyed travellers, academics or foreign correspondents, are commonly considered as being cosmopolitan... On the other hand, those for

whom the nature of their mobility is unprivileged, i.e. dictated by necessity or even forced, such as migrants and refugees, are conceived of as either people out of place or as transnationals.

These cosmopolitans exist in a global arena which Ong (2006) describes as a “global assemblage”, where citizenship rights are accessed through class and skills. Migrants who lack this status are excluded. Concessions and privileges are bestowed based on the value of the resources the foreign immigrant has to offer. For instance in Asian megacities like Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Singapore, skilled migrants are categorized as expatriates and granted global citizenship status, while those that are less skilled are labeled ‘aliens’ (Ong 2007: 88). Paradoxically, not all migrants are cosmopolitans, but all cosmopolitans are migrants. In summary, cosmopolitanism’s notion of openness and deterritorialization is selective and is not inclusive of all migrants. Beneath its principle of universalism lies localization, as it aims to develop the state economically; therefore, selective tolerance of migrants’ diversity becomes a compromise to achieve economic development.

2.5. Hybridity

Hybridity is another concept that has been used in identity studies to address the limitations of both assimilationism and multiculturalism. It is compatible with the notion of cosmopolitanism but draws specific attention to the “cross-fertilization” (Sinha 2008:4) of cultures and the positive outcomes of such exchanges. It recognizes what some regard as the inevitable cultural synthesis of different groups (Ifekwunigwe 1999: 188). Cultural synthesis has been employed to study migrants’ integration into host societies. Most scholars describe it as the cultural juncture where the cultures of the host community and migrants mingle. New forms of diversity evolve as a result of the crossbreeding of various cultures. Dear and Burrige define cultural synthesis as the “production of novel cultural forms and practices through the merging of previously separate cultural antecedents” (2005: 302). Bhabha (1994: 227) adds that hybridity is “how newness enters the world”. In this case, it involves the birth of a new cultural mix. This argument is founded on the dynamism of culture, that is, its unboundedness. As noted earlier, culture is not fixed but is ever changing and as Bhabha (1994) argues, it is not feasible to contain cultures and maintain homogeneity by creating boundaries around them. Rather, “culture is a continually developing performance and cannot, as such, be seen as an absolute or essential entity or even specific ones thereof placed

in hierarchies” (Bostanci 2009: 2). Therefore, cultural hybridity assumes that due to globalization and increased movement, culture has become more heterogeneous and it is difficult to maintain homogeneity because it is ever-changing and evolving. While assimilation assumes that the host community’s culture dominates that of the migrant and therefore leads to them relinquishing their culture, hybridity argues that there is no subordination or supremacy of one culture over another. Rather, culture is a continuous blend of difference which gives birth to new cultures in an on-going cycle of crossbreeding.

The hybrid nature of culture suggests that the notion of a culturally homogenous community is fallacious as culture in itself is a mix. Ipsen (2002: 292) explains that “the construction of myths of homogeneous cultural continua is therefore the result of a misconception of how cultures evolve and how they interact, ignoring the fact that cultures are in utter need of contact-making in cultural interfaces so they will have a prospect of continuous development”. Therefore, no culture exists in isolation of others but rather reflects other cultures it has come in contact with. However minimal, there is interaction between members of host communities and immigrants which gives birth to various forms of hybridity. The theory posits that total exclusion in order to maintain cultural homogeneity is impossible due to the globalization of culture. Hybridity not only alters the cultural composition of host communities, but influences integration. Ipsen (2002) reiterates that due to increased migration, most host countries have had to deal with a complex form of heterogeneity which is a result of cultural hybridity. Since the notion of hybridity assumes that cultural identity should be unbounded because culture in itself is unfixed, according to this school of thought, integration should also be unbounded. Eberhardt (2010: 58) reiterates that hybridity opposes the boundaries of identity and the use of such boundaries to perpetuate othering and exclusion. It talks of a “third space” or “in-betweenness” where hybridity occurs and integration is negotiated. The in-betweenness referred to in hybridity is different from that of cosmopolitanism. In this case, the space moves beyond geographical space to include biological and socio-cultural spaces. Eberhardt (2010: 61) describes this third space as

a site for resistance, struggle, and negotiation. It is a space where new forms of cultural meanings are produced, and where the limitations of existing boundaries, and categorizations, are re-established. This third space is an ambivalent site where cultural meaning, and representation, is not fixed... In

the third space it is believed that the two sides, the dominant host country culture and the other, meet to negotiate their cultural differences, and to create a culture that is hybrid.

Since hybridity creates a third space where cultures mingle, it invariably redefines identity. If identity can be redefined, processes of othering can also be redefined. Yazdiha (2010: 37) elucidates that it is possible to reorient people's perceptions of othering and redefine their exclusionary system of labelling or othering. He further argues that

hybridity has the ability to empower marginalized collectives and deconstruct bounded labels, which are used in the service of subordination. In essence, hybridity has the potential to allow once subjugated collectivities to reclaim a part of the cultural space in which they move. Hybridity can be seen not as a means of division or sorting out the various histories and diverse narratives to individualize identities, but rather a means of reimagining an interconnected collective (Yazdiha 2010: 36).

Simply put, hybridity does not divide but rather connects diverse groups. This third space does not exist as a new heterogeneous community but as one that acts as a bridge between diverse groups as a result of being a product of them. "According to the hybridity concept, migrant actors do not find themselves in an *either-or* but, rather, in a *both and*" (Goethe Institut 2014: n.p.). "Either-or" has to do with othering; it implies us and them. However, when diverse identities merge, it evolves to "both and" which denotes a part of or inclusion. The third space enables the hybrid to renegotiate othering because the boundary between "us" and "them" has been blurred. Behera (2013: 5) explains that hybrids can be integrated into the host community because of their diverse identity; they are able to articulate their interests because they belong to the third space. Meredith (1998: 2) states that hybridity is "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference". Does hybridity therefore imply a gradual blending of differences and heterogeneity into sameness and homogeneity?

Hoon (2006: 159) explains that "the concept of hybridity confronts and problematizes all these boundaries, but does not erase them, and suggests a blurring of boundaries and,

consequently, an unsettling of identities”. The blurring of boundaries implies the mixture and overlapping of cultures and identities. When the lines become blurred othering is nearly impossible. Hybridity seeks togetherness or coexistence rather than homogeneity. Deleuze and Guattari (2004: 322) describe this as a “block of coexistence”. Ang adds that,

unlike other key concepts in the contemporary politics of difference – such as diaspora and multiculturalism – it (hybridity) foregrounds complicated entanglement rather than identity, togetherness-in-difference rather than separateness and virtual apartheid. It is also a concept that prevents the absorption of all difference into a hegemonic plane of sameness and homogeneity (2003: 142).

Therefore, the unboundedness of culture creates a complex heterogeneity which allows for togetherness rather than homogeneity that propagates separateness (Ipsen 2002). It is complex because rather than differences dividing, they connect. Ha (2006: 2) describes it as a dynamic mixture and intermingling which is founded on border transgression. Does this imply that hybridity does away with exclusion? Or does it create a novel system of hierarchical othering?

Critics argue that hybridity does not necessarily imply the total eradication of othering based on cultural diversity or perceived cultural boundaries. Ha (2006: 3) explains that “while it is right to assume that hybridity will have effects on processes of othering and dominant culturalistic world views, it would be naive to believe that hybridity provides a formula for an all-encompassing solution”. Indeed, the notion of hybridity cannot exclude that of homogeneity as international does not remove nation-state; rather it is reignited indirectly through the emphasis on a hybrid culture (Stockhammer 2013: 12). Simply put, hybridity emphasizes in-betweenness and the third space which is a product of the first and second spaces, the pure and impure or the homogeneous and diverse. In addition, the third space in which the hybrid exists does not necessarily empower people to renegotiate their position and eliminate othering. As Hogstrom (2009: 5) reiterates,

there will also be differences within the group of those who are in-between, so knowing exactly how these subjects, or people, are formed is nearly impossible without looking at every single case in detail. The result is a very

diverse group of people who do not fit into our preconceived view of who we are. It is these people who are somewhere in-between that can be called hybrids.

Hybridity as a means of integration is therefore, more complex than cultural mix explanations. Simply put, "the hybrid is not the opposite of hierarchy and hegemony, but of binary and dichotomy" (Schneider 1997: 43). Hybridity not only removes the boundaries of culture, but also widens the margins of diversity. It could therefore have the dual effect of either inclusion or integration or more groups to exclude.

2.6. Entanglement and Conviviality

The notion of entanglement focuses on the intersections of relationships and the inclusion of various groups irrespective of similarities and differences which explain the nature of social relationships. It argues that although diversities and conflict exist between groups due to perceived differences, these groups also interact by consciously or unconsciously finding common ground. It asserts that although categorization such as *us* and *them* exists, there is a point where these diversities meet and interact; not as assimilation or hybridity but at a juncture of interdependence. The interaction between groups that are perceived to be different but are interdependent is referred to as entanglement. Nuttall defines entanglement as

a condition of being twisted together or entwined, involved with; it speaks of an intimacy gained, even if it was resisted, or ignored or uninvited. It is a term which may gesture towards a relationship or set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies a human foldedness. It works with difference and sameness but also with their limits, their predicaments, their moments of complication (Nuttall 2009: 1).

In exploring these relationships, she argues that fear of the interdependent relationship of two racial groups led to the need to create differentiation (Nuttall 2009: 2). Amin (2012) notes that fear is employed in the crises in Europe to create an imagined community based on an ideal of uniformity, thereby excluding those perceived to be different and labelled as strangers. This suggests that focusing on the differences between various groups may not necessarily provide a full picture of the nature of social relations. Scholars should therefore

seek an intersecting space, a site where these differences overlap in order to understand the nature of such complex relationships. Nuttall (2009) further explains how the boundaries of diversity are overcome within this close proximity. In her words, entanglement theories are

a means by which to draw into our analyses those sites in which what was once thought of as separate – identities, spaces, histories – come together or find points of intersection in unexpected ways. It is an idea which signals largely unexplored terrains of mutuality, wrought from a common, though often coercive and confrontational, experience (Nuttall 2009: 11).

Although differences exist, they are not always clearly socially defined in the real world; categorizing them is problematic as there are grey areas where similarities and differences mingle. These grey areas provide a nuanced picture and understanding of relations between different groups, which in the context of this study, would be between South Africans and African migrants.

This can be related to the idea of conviviality which argues that identity is not closed but open and ever-changing. Nyamnjoh (2015: 11-12) describes conviviality as a disposition that goes beyond tolerance and “stresses the pursuit of sameness and commonalities by bridging divides and facilitating interconnections... and an attitude towards identities and identification as open-ended pursuits.” Like entanglement, it acknowledges diversity and understands that differences are incomplete and that, if tolerated and accepted, they make a complete whole. In other words, attaining homogeneity is not a successful end but rather success would be the tolerance of diversity. Gilroy (2004: xi) adds that “the radical openness that brings conviviality alive makes nonsense of closed, fixed and reified identity and turns attention toward the always-unpredictable mechanisms of identification” (Gilroy 2004: xi). He adds that in a multicultural world,

it is important to ask what critical perspectives might nurture the ability and the desire to live with difference on an increasingly divided but also convergent planet? We need to know what sorts of insight and reflection might actually help increasingly differentiated societies and anxious individuals to cope successfully with the challenges involved in dwelling

comfortably in proximity to the unfamiliar without becoming fearful and hostile (Gilroy 2004: 3).

Clearly, interaction is inevitable due to the close proximity of differences which in a way threatens boundaries. Therefore, such close proximity can enable the creation of a convivial culture in an environment characterized by diversity. Gilroy (2006: 4) defines convivial culture as a “social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not... add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication”. Simply put, differences exist but do not always hinder the development of relationships. In other words, people are very different but are also very similar. Ironically, what makes them so different are their multiple identities that also make them similar because they allow them to intersect and interact, thereby creating an interdependent relationship. This does not necessarily imply that entanglement or conviviality removes tensions and hostility towards differences. However, it creates an environment which enables “different groups and individuals to focus on commonalities that intercut the dimensions of fixed difference which may cause fear and anxiety about the other” (Rzepnikowska 2013: 4). Some geographic spaces encourage the formation of a convivial culture towards diversity. Amin (2012: 79) describes such spaces as “sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference”. These sites encourage a convivial culture towards diversity as a result of the interaction of host members and “unknown strangers” which ultimately blurs the lines of diversity. Amin (2002: 959) depicts these spaces as “micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter”. These sites encourage frequent interactions. Examples include workplaces, religious settings, sports clubs and school. Carter and Jones (1989: 169) term such places interactive spaces, which are breeding grounds for the formation of networks. This notion is closely linked to the contact hypothesis theory, which assumes that sustained interaction between diverse groups in various sites ultimately results in less prejudice (Dixon et al 2005: 697). It argues that frequent contact and interaction between culturally diverse people will eventually lead to the evanescence of their cultural boundaries, thereby creating a sense of inclusion. In other words, contact between groups can reduce prejudice over time and therefore foster acceptance and improve relations in ways that enable integration of the out-group.

Protagonists this school of thought argue that certain conditions need to be present in order for contact to foster interaction and reduce prejudice. These include that contact be “intimate, cooperative and oriented towards the achievement of a shared goal. Moreover, it should occur between people of equal status” (Dixon and Durrheim 2003:1). Intimate intergroup contact implies that the personal interaction between the in-group and the out-group is informal so that they can learn to understand each other (Pettigrew 1998). It develops through “deep communication: sustained, reciprocal, escalating conversations in which two friends come to know each other in a meaningful way” (Everett and Onu 2013: n.p.). In order to ensure that contact between the two groups is cooperative towards a common goal, they need to work together as a team; this common drive would supersede their differences (Dixon and Durrheim 2003). Finally, equal status implies that intergroup interaction is founded on equality, that is, there is no discrimination and the groups perceive themselves as equal (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Studies such as that by Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) have shown that where these conditions were present, prejudice evaporated and convivial relationships developed.

However, earlier study by Dixon and Durrheim (2003) revealed that contact between the in-group and out-group often results in the reestablishment of racial boundaries. While they do not reject the ideas of contact theory, they argue that it oversimplifies the dynamics of diverse groups and does not take into cognizance the opposite effect contact may have. In their words,

...intergroup contact in everyday life rarely occurs under ideal circumstances... Naturally occurring interaction between groups is generally more infrequent and superficial than the ideal type...A problem with research on the contact hypothesis is that it tends to detach intergroup dynamics from their societal contexts, focusing on factors within the immediate environment of interaction that are easily manipulated and measured (Dixon and Durrheim 2003: 2).

Scholars such as Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) have also argued that the premise that contact fosters tolerance and creates conviviality is not always a given. In essence, it has been argued that contact has the dual effect of tolerance and prejudice. Durrheim et al (2014) explain that beyond the reduction of prejudice, are paradoxical effects of intergroup contact which include recategorization, anxiety reduction, and promotion of empathy. Pettigrew (1998: 75)

explains that “recategorization adopts an inclusive strategy that highlights similarities among the interactants and obscures the ‘we’ and ‘they’ boundary”. This implies that, differences and prejudice are overcome when there is intergroup contact within micro-public space. Nevertheless, the fall out is that this concord reduces the attitude of the out-group towards reducing discrimination. This spectrum was captured in Dixon et al’s (2013) study on race relations between White and Black South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa. They found that intergroup contact led to concord between Black and White South Africans but amongst black people, it “diminished their political perceptions of own group relative deprivation and discrimination and decreased support for policies designed to redress the legacy of apartheid” (Dixon et al 2013: 243). The second paradoxical effect, anxiety reduction, posits that intergroup contact reduces anxiety between the two groups and ultimately leads to concord (Pettigrew 2008). On the other hand, Turner et al (2007: 428) argue that in some cases, when there is intergroup contact, rather than reducing anxiety; their anxiety potentially produces conflict and hostility. Finally, contact theory argues that intergroup contact produces empathic qualities that include care, compassion and sympathy for the out-group. This leads to self-other merging, where the in-group looks beyond their diversities and sees the out-group as similar to itself (Dovidio et al 2013). However, studies have shown that contact between diverse groups has led to antipathy which perpetuates the “us” and “them” divide, rather than self-other merging. This is in light of the fact that, “the mere presence of the out-group causes negative reactions, possibly because proximity increases the salience of the out-group, thereby activating negative stereotypes” (Enos 2014: 3700).

While Nuttall’s (2009) idea of entanglement, Gilroy’s (2004) idea of conviviality and the contact hypothesis have been applied to explain race relations and how racial and class differences influence relations, they can also be used to explain the nature of interactions and integration of migrants into various host communities. Nuttall (2009) and Gilroy argue that rather than focusing on differences and how these differences prevent interaction, the spaces where these differences intersect in their interactions should be explored. This can help to explain how diversities intersect rather than categorizing or grouping them. Intersections and convivial relations are propagated by frequent contact, which makes differences evanesce. However, this is not always the case since, as noted above, it can foster prejudice. The two extreme explanations of contact theory do not undermine its ability to foster tolerance; rather

they recognize its dichotomous character of also propagating prejudice; this is highlighted in the chapters that present this study's results. In the context of the current study, they are also useful in showing that the relationship between migrants and members of the host community cannot be explained in an explicit antagonistic or exclusive manner but rather in a complicated sense where differences and sameness are not fixed and do not always hinder interaction and social relationships, no matter how complex they may be. Based on the foregoing, migrant and host relationships are an entanglement of identities characterized by differences and similarities. This is because identity is a "complex social construct encompassing various constantly (re) negotiated aspects, such as race, ethnicity, nationality, class, gender and sexuality, the meanings attached to these are inevitably subject to shifts and changes through migration" (Ashby and Diener 2014: 5).

2.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, the integration of migrants into the host community is largely dependent on how diversity is dealt with. The six responses to migrants' differences – exclusion, assimilation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity, and entanglement and conviviality – are related but very different from one another in dealing with differences. For instance, while exclusion totally abhors the co-existence of differences, assimilation aims to homogenize society by absorbing the different. On the other hand, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity and entanglement aim to create a space for the existence of differences, but in different ways. While multiculturalism boasts of creating a plural society where cultural differences are allowed to exist, cosmopolitanism acknowledges plurality but further bases its argument on openness and deterritorialization. Hybridity asserts that there is a third space or in-betweenness where homogeneity and heterogeneity meet and this junction empowers hybrids to renegotiate *othering* and integration. Entanglement and conviviality posit that although differences exist, there is an interdependent relationship between diverse groups and that rather than focusing on differences, and how these differences prevent interaction, we could focus on the spaces where they intersect in their varied interactions.

Two cross-cutting themes on identity emerge that merit discussion, albeit briefly. The first is the distinction between essentialism and non-essentialism, and the second is cultural hierarchies and their impact on identities. It is important to explore how these themes are

embedded in the various responses by host members to migrants' perceived identity. Essentialist frameworks are those that regard cultural identity as fixed and absolute. Essentialist thinking argues that cultural identity is "formed of a common history, ancestry and set of symbolic resources... The underlying assumptions of this view are that collective identity exists, that is a whole..." (Barker 2012: 231). In other words, the cultural identity of a group is presumed to be homogenous. This implies that cultural markers are used to demarcate groups and these markers form their identity. The groups therefore have defined and fixed characteristics which are used to categorize them. In contrast, non-essentialist thinking recognises that cultural identity is fluid and partial, which implies that it can change. Barker (2012: 233) explains that "cultural identity is continuously being produced within the vectors of similarity and difference... not as a reflection of a fixed, natural, state of being but as a process of becoming".

In terms of the second theme, hierarchical approaches to cultural identity postulate that cultural identities can be positioned within a hierarchy of high to low, civilized to uncivilised, modern to backwards and so on. Lane (2002: 73) explains that a major inevitable consequence of a hierarchical arrangement of cultural identity is the unequal treatment of people within the lower level who are perceived as inferior. A typical example is European colonialism of Africa, which not only redrew ethnic borders and invented new ones but also established ethnic hierarchies. As Osaghae (2006: 7) demonstrates, colonial administrations employed "systems of ethnic profiling which defined colonial subjects in ranked ethnic terms, complete with the privileges and disadvantages the location of the group in the rank structure conferred." While the colonizers were at the top of this hierarchy, the colonized were sub-divided as some were given higher preference than others. In contrast, other approaches to identity might argue that different identities are neither inferior nor superior but are equivalent. Here the recognition of diversity on equal terms is a basis for cultural integration.

To conclude, exclusion is both essentialist and hierarchical because it seeks to totally eradicate differences that are seen as inferior or unacceptable. Assimilation is not strictly essentialist because it recognizes that people can adopt new cultures, but it is extremely hierarchical and expects the minority to take on the host culture and discard their culture. On

the other hand, multiculturalism is less hierarchical, but is somewhat essentialist because it perceives of cultures as parallels in the sense that it allows the co-existence of certain cultures that fit its ideal picture of diversity. Cosmopolitanism is “selectively” non-essentialist and non-hierarchical because it acknowledges the presence of differences and seeks to bridge them; however, as Yeoh (2013: 97) notes, it perpetuates global *othering* based on class. Hybridity is non-essentialist and non-hierarchical due to its unboundedness of culture which leads to the intermingling of differences. Similarly, entanglement and conviviality is non-essentialist and non-hierarchical as it argues that there are sites of interaction which foster relationships irrespective of differences.

This chapter critically reflected on the relationship between migrants and the host community, drawing on various theories and frameworks, including exclusion, assimilation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity, and conviviality and entanglement, that explain host members’ response to contact with migrants. The following chapter examines the nature of networks. It explores the ideas and principles of social network theory, and the notions that explain the formation of networks and how they act as bonding and bridging social capital in developing convivial and entangled ties across diverse groups.

CHAPTER 3: UNDERSTANDING NETWORKS

Various studies have characterised relationships between African migrants and South Africans as hostile. This study goes beyond this broad characterisation and explores everyday relations, whether hostile or not. Social network theory was employed to holistically examine and explain the nature of relationships between Nigerian migrants and South African citizens by exploring the network ties among the various nodes. This is appropriate as this theory focuses on the nature and effects of interactions between various people (Jack et al 2010). This chapter discusses how the social network theory will be employed to explain how Nigerian immigrants use social capital in networks to socially and economically integrate into the host community even though they are navigating perceived differences. The theory will also explain how differences are managed in the dealings between Nigerian immigrants and South Africans.

3.1. Field of network research

Social network theory originated in the early twentieth century and was employed in the fields of anthropology and psychology. Hatala (2006: 48) notes that in 1934 Moreno used sociograms to map out the relationships between various individuals and to describe the nature and characteristics of these relationships. A sociogram is defined as “a diagrammatic representation of the relationships between people in a social group” (Tesson 2006: 99). Through the use of sociograms, Moreno examined whether the psychological state of people within a network is influenced by social relationships among members of the network (Tesson 2006: 99). In 1956, Cartwright and Harrary used the graph theory to mathematically measure the relationships between members of a network using points and lines that signified like and dislike (Hatala 2006: 48). More recently, the theory was further developed (Scott and Davis 2003) to focus on group ties and relations rather than the group’s characteristics. Wasserman and Faust (1994: 9) defined social networks as “the set of actors (individuals) and the ties (relationships) among them”. Kadushin (2006: 3) explains that “a network contains a set of objects (in mathematical terms, nodes) and a mapping or description of relations between the objects or nodes”. Mitchell regards a network as “the actual set of links of all kinds amongst a set of individuals” (1973: 2). Thus, a network refers to a social connection or bridge between two or more agents. It is a social relationship or connection

that exists between an individual and another or on a broader scale, among groups of individuals.

Unlike social identity theory which focuses on differentiation between groups, social network theory emphasizes connections and ties between various agents. It is more interested in the nature of the relationship created than the individuals themselves. The theory argues that the social relationship better explains the social behaviour of the person or group under study (Mitchell 1969; Wasserman and Faust 1994). The links and connections that are created are regarded as a reflection of the social behaviour of the object of study. Nooy et al (2005) observe that an analysis of a social network will help researchers understand and interpret these social behaviours. Social networks are different from social groups; they are based on forms of interaction that connect people, while social groups emphasize demarcations and categorizations. Halgin (2012: 4) explains that

a fundamental part of the concept of group is the existence of boundaries. Even while we recognize that boundaries may be fuzzy or uncertain... the distinction between insiders and outsiders is an important part of the group concept.... In contrast to groups, networks do not have “natural” boundaries (although, of course, we are free to study natural groups, in which case the group boundaries determine our nodes).

Group theory is more interested in the nature of differentiation created by social boundaries, while the social network theory focuses on the nature of relationships that connect people within the network. While these patterns sometimes replicate broad social categories, at times they also connect across social boundaries. Social network theory describes the actors within the network as nodes and the relations are described as linkages or flows (Martino and Spoto 2006: 53). It argues that people build networks in order to pursue certain interests. These networks could be formal or informal and irrespective of the strength of the relationship, a network enables those within it to access resources and information that they may not be privy to if they were not connected to it (Jack et al 2010: 2). Network ties could be from individual to individual or across levels between individuals and their ties with other groups (Katz et al 2004: 308). Social network theory best demonstrates “the nature and effect of the interaction and exchange that takes place between individuals” (Jack et al 2010: 2).

There are different types of social networks, including the ego-centric network, socio-centric network, and open-system network. A socio-centric network focuses on a group of people and how they relate to one another. Kadushin describes it as a social network in a box (2012: 17). Open-system networks are not as closed as socio-centric networks. They “are networks in which the boundaries are not necessarily clear, they are not in a box – for example, the elite of the United States, or connections between corporations, or the chain of influencers of a particular decision, or the adoption of new practices.... They are also the most difficult to study” (Kadushin 2012: 8). The current study is concerned with ego-centric networks. Such networks, which are also referred to as personal networks are those with ties that are connected to a single node (Kadushin 2012: 17). They are called ego-centric or personal networks because the focus of analysis is on a single node or person and how the nature of the ties with other members of the network (i.e., the alters) impact on the ego. Egos are the main actors in the network, while alters are those the egos have ties with within their network. An ego-centric network “comprises an ego, or individual node in a network, and nodes that are closely related to the ego along with all edges between those nodes. An ego-centric network describes the local view of an ego in a network” (Harrigan et al 2012: 563).

3.2. Assumptions and principles of social network theory

Although there are different types of social networks ranging from social media to individuals and organizations, the core ideas of social network theory are basically similar. Wasserman and Faust (1994) and Katz (2004) set out the basic principles and assumptions of social network theory that have guided various network studies. One of the main ideas behind the theory is the interdependence of nodes or actors within a network. Wasserman and Faust (1994) reiterate that the actors or nodes within a network are not independent but interdependent and should not be regarded as autonomous individuals but as social individuals interacting with others within a network. Since this is the case, the theory is not interested in the node in isolation but rather the relationship between various nodes. Katz et al (2004: 311) state that the best way to understand people’s behavior is to explore their ties or networks rather than their individual traits. While other social researchers focus on the attributes of their respondents, network researchers argue that people’s traits and attributes reflect their relationships and therefore focus on these relationships (Monge and Contractor 2002: 441). The theory views people as malleable, that is, they can influence and be

influenced by other actors. Therefore, people are motivated to form relationships and build networks because of their malleability (Mitchell 1986).

Another basic notion guiding social network theory is that the interdependence of the nodes within the network impacts on their social behavior and this does not necessarily only have to do with the similarities that they share in the network. Katz (2004: 312) explains that,

people's behavior is best predicted by examining not their drives, attitudes, or demographic characteristics, but rather the web of relationships in which they are embedded. That web of relationships presents opportunities and imposes constraints on people's behavior. If two people behave in a similar fashion, it is likely because they are situated in comparable locations in their social networks, rather than because they both belong to the same category

This implies that people are social beings who interact and develop ties with other people; these ties, rather than their social attributes, influence their behavior. Therefore, exploring people's social attributes will not necessarily provide a complete picture of the reason why people act the way they do. This does not mean that attributes and demographic data are not necessary, but that analyzing them in isolation of social ties will not give the full picture. Jackson (2011: 511) adds that "the people with whom we interact on a regular basis, and even some with whom we interact only sporadically, influence our beliefs, decisions and behaviors". People's behaviors are usually a reflection of the type of relations between members of their network, irrespective of the nature of the tie. Katz et al (2004: 278) add that networks have individual and collective effects, which explains the behaviors of people within a network. Horton (2008: 2) concurs and states that social network theory explains how the structure and composition of ties between nodes within a network affect their social behaviors.

In addition, the theory proposes that the structure and composition of social networks make them conduits for the exchange of resources. "Relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for transfer or 'flow' of resources (either material or nonmaterial)" (Hatala 2006: 50). The interconnectedness of actors within the network provides them with various social benefits. Jack (2005) adds that belonging to a network enables the node to access resources,

opportunities and information, which may be difficult to access outside the network. The benefits of belonging to a network cause nodes to strategically develop networks with the purpose of advancing their interests. Jackson (2011: 536 - 537) asserts that belonging to a social network is based on the rational choice of nodes or agents in order to maximize their well-being. This does not imply that membership of networks is solely motivated by rational decisions on what one stands to benefit. People sometimes participate for personal reasons and when they eventually benefit from a network, it is unintended as they may not have set out to maximize their well-being. Therefore, participation in networks cannot always be reduced to the participants' intentions or rational choices. However, it is clear that social networks are instruments of support whether planned or unplanned. Nodes benefit from different types of support within a network, including financial, informational and emotional support (Pattison 1994). For this reason, it can be said that "social networks provide the opportunities and constraints that affect outcomes of importance to individuals and groups" (Kilduff and Brass 2010: 334). All these themes will be revisited throughout this chapter.

3.3. Defining different types of social network ties

The different types of network relations range from "acquaintance, kinship, evaluation of another person, the need of a commercial exchange, physical connections, the presence in a web-page of a link to another page and so on" (Martino and Spoto 2006: 53-54). Because networks take various shapes and characters, and function differently, their ties are usually diverse. The ties could be

directed (i.e., potentially one-directional, as in giving advice to someone) or undirected (as in being physically proximate) and can be dichotomous (present or absent, as in whether two friends are friends or not) or valued (measured on a scale, as in strength of friendship). A set of ties of a given type (such as friendship ties) constitutes a binary social relation, and each relation defines a different network... (Borgatti and Foster 2003: 992).

Borgatti and Halgin (2011) describe two basic categories of network ties, namely, state-type ties and event-type ties. They explain that,

states have continuity over time. This is not to say they are permanent, but rather that they have an open-ended persistence. Examples of state-type ties

include kinship ties (e.g., parent of), other role-based relations (e.g., friend of or boss of), cognitive/perceptual relations (e.g., recognizes or knows the skills of), and emotive relations (e.g., likes or hates). State-type ties can be dimensionalized in terms of strength, intensity, and duration. In contrast, an event-type tie has a discrete and transitory nature and can be counted over periods of time. Examples of event-type ties include e-mail exchanges, phone conversations, and transactions such as sales or treaties signed. Cumulated over time, event-type ties can be dimensionalized in terms of frequency of occurrence (e.g., the number of e-mails exchanged)” (Borgatti and Halgin 2011: 3).

Although there are different types of networks, the ties usually fall into one of the two categories noted above. These categories are differentiated based on the life-span or duration of the network and its affective nature. While state-type ties are long term, emotionally bonded and intense, event-type ties are usually formal and brief.

Katz et al (2004) offer a similar classification of ties as strong and weak. Weak ties are relationships between nodes that are acquaintances and have little or no interaction, while strong ties are relationships among friends with frequent contact and exchange of communication or support (Granovetter 1983: 201-203). Strong ties offer a high level of trust, intimacy, and emotional support and are built on affection while weak ties are usually established to enable nodes to access information (Katz et al 2004: 309). Katz et al (2004: 309) add that “strong ties are particularly valuable when an individual seeks socio-emotional support and often entail a high level of trust. Weak ties are more valuable when individuals are seeking diverse or unique information from someone outside their regular frequent contacts”. This classification does not downplay the importance of weak ties over stronger ones, but each serves a different purpose within the various networks. Acquaintances that form weak ties may sometimes provide more support to the central nodes than stronger ties which may arise as a result of their linkages with other people who do not form part of the central nodes’ network. This is because, within networks with strong ties, the information they are privy to “is likely to be much the same as that which one already has” (Granovetter 1983: 205). Therefore, the character and strength of a network does not necessarily imply that weaker ties are less important.

Furthermore, Katz et al (2004) break down the two types of networks ties based on the character and goals of the network relationship. They classify them as “communication ties (such as who talks to whom, or who gives information or advice to whom), formal ties (such as who reports to whom), affective ties (such as who likes whom, or who trusts whom), material or work flow ties (such as who gives money or other resources to whom), proximity ties (who is spatially or electronically close to whom)” (Katz et al 2004: 308). These examples show that ties in networks are different, ranging from acquaintance to affective ties. The nodes within a network can possess more than one of these ties and the intersection of different ties is called multiplexity. Multiplexity refers to multiple overlapping social relations between the same nodes in a social network (Rogan 2014: 567). For example, a worker may have a formal tie with his/her boss, a proximity tie because they reside in the same neighborhood and an affective tie as they are also friends.

In network analysis these ties are measured using various methods. Examples of such measurements are the network centrality, transitivity and reciprocity (see Katz et al 2004; Kadushin 2004; Snijders 2011). This study focuses on reciprocity within networks. Reciprocity shows the mutual ties that exist between or among nodes (Katz et al 2004: 310). It examines the relationship from the perspective of both nodes, that is, how node A responds to node B’s relationship and vice versa. Kadushin (2004: 13) notes that “the concept of mutuality implies first, the extent to which relations are reciprocal, that is, involve a give and take between the two parties; and second, the degree of power or asymmetry in the relationship”. In measuring reciprocity, the level of mutual exchange within relationships is analyzed to explore whether reciprocity is high, low or non-existent in a network. Relationships between nodes in a network can be symmetrical and asymmetrical. Symmetric ties are characterized by mutuality, that is, relationships in which node A and node B respond to each other in a similar way (Doreian et al 2000: 5). On the other hand, asymmetric ties lack mutuality. Reciprocity can only exist in symmetric ties as it has to do with the mutual response of the various interacting nodes. Furthermore, in some instances, reciprocity explains the hierarchical nature of the ties within a network; a relationship between nodes that is reciprocal is usually less unequal than those with low or no reciprocity. Izquierdo and Hanneman (2006: 19) argue that a symmetric tie that is predominantly characterized by

reciprocity is more “equal or stable” than an asymmetric tie. Therefore, assessing reciprocity is important in explaining the characteristics of a relationship within a network.

3.4. Dimensions of network formation

As noted earlier, social network theories are mainly used to explain relationships among individuals, groups or organizations. Various sub-theories are relevant to this study as they explain why networks are formed. These include the theory of social exchange or dependency and the theory of self-interest (Katz et al 2004: 312).

3.4.1. Theory of social exchange

It was noted previously that people create networks in order to accrue benefits. This argument is linked to the theory of social exchange. Social exchange involves “the exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons” (Cook and Rice 2006: 54). This definition explains the crux of the theory that ties are formed from the exchange of various resources. Homans (1950) contends that within a social network, ties are established among nodes in order to create an interdependent relationship which involves the exchange of valued information and resources and that the sustenance of such ties is dependent on these benefits (cited in Katz et al 2004: 313). This theory posits that one of the reasons why ties and links are created between people irrespective of their differences is because of the benefits gained from a symbiotic relationship. When these ties do not serve the interests of the nodes, they are terminated. As aptly put by Katz et al (2004: 313), “these dependencies, social exchange theorists argue, constitute the glue that binds a group together”.

3.4.2. Self-Interest theory

The self-interest theory is another sub-theory that is pertinent to this study. People develop ties for their own personal benefit. The theory presents the nodes as calculating agents who have the ability to weigh benefits and losses. It posits that

people make what they believe to be rational choices in order to acquire personal benefits. The strong form of this theoretical mechanism stipulates

that people attempt to maximize their gains (or minimize their losses). The weaker theoretical form says that people satisfice rather than maximize, which means that people choose the first good alternatives and select the best (Monge and Contractor 2002: 449).

This does not necessarily mean that the relationship is parasitic or one-sided because both or all the parties develop ties to maximize their personal interests and this creates an interdependent relationship as one interest balances the other. Katz et al (2004: 313) explain that “while each actor is trying to maximize his or her individual interests, each is at the same time constrained because he or she is embedded in an interdependent relationship with the other. That relationship imposes limits on both actors’ behaviour and regulates the extent of self-seeking behaviour. These limits are counterbalanced by the increased access to resources each actor gets via the other”. Suffice to say that these benefits act as a motivation for individuals to develop networks which are characterized by ‘give and take’ among nodes. Katz et al (2004: 313) describe this as an “as an investment in the accumulation of social resources or social capital”. Investigations of social capital have been employed to study self-interest as a motivation for the initiation of networks.

3.5. Social capital and networks

The term social capital has a plethora of meanings. Gnesi (2010) identifies three main scholars that put forward different views on social capital, namely, Bourdieu (1983), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). Their definitions of social capital are both contradictory and complementary. Bourdieu (1983) cited in Mignone (2009: 101) defines social capital as

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words to membership of a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

Elsewhere, he describes it as the “sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and

Wacquant 1992: 119). For Bourdieu, social capital is not just the value of the resources accrued by individuals within a social network, but is also the social relationships that the individual uses as a tool to acquire such benefits. Social capital is not created in isolation but through other forms of capital investment. Therefore, “a network of social connections is not a natural or even a social given, but rather, as with physical or human capital, it is the product of deliberate, instrumental strategies of investment – the production and reproduction of social capital requires an unceasing effort (or investment) of sociability” (Gnesi 2010: 16). If this is the case, developing social capital will be dependent on one’s ability to use physical and human capitals within a network to maximize one’s interests. Therefore, since social capital is also about the value of the social structure (the quality of the network), hierarchy within the network is inevitable as members will be “classed” based on their level of social investment. For instance, Sanchez (2007: 25) contends that “the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network connections he or she can effectively mobilize, in order to obtain particular benefits”. By implication, the nodes’ ability to use the social relationships to attain benefits is dependent on their position within the network. Those who are subordinate will be more constrained when using the social relationship as a resource to maximize their interests than those of higher status within the network.

Coleman (1988: 98) defines social capital in social and economic terms as

a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman 1988).

He explains that, while the social aspect of social capital comprises norms and values that regulate social relationships, the economic aspect has to do with individuals who seek to accrue self-benefit within a network. Coleman argues that although people are individualistic, rational economic beings, they are also social agents who are products of their social relations with other people even within the economic sphere (Coleman 1988: 96). Therefore, social capital regulates the economic behaviour of the individual. It is an unwritten rule that guides and sustains relations within networks. This does not necessarily

mean that it hinders maximization of the individual's interests; however, it curbs its excesses. According to Williams and Durrance (2008: 6), Coleman sees social capital as

something inherent in the structure of relations between actors. His examples were of the trust that is possible within a stable set of people.... He pointed up two features of social capital. The first was *multiplexity*, where two actors have multiple dimensions to their relationship.... Closure was the second, where everyone in a set of people knows at least two other people in that set and therefore has recourse to sanctions against any other person in the group.

Coleman's definition emphasizes trust that enables the formation of multiple relationships and the regulatory character of such ties. Thus, when that trust is violated by a member of the network, the other agents can impose sanctions on that member. Trust holds the relationship together in a network and regulates it. He further differentiates social capital from human capital by stating that the unlike the latter which exists within the individual, social capital exists in social structures and relationships within a network (Coleman 1988: 98).

Although different from human and physical capital in terms of where it exists, social capital can also be a resource used as human and physical capitals to achieve benefits. Like any other capital, an individual can use their social relations to pursue their interests (Coleman 1988). Furthermore, Coleman argues that social capital is developed in social relations, which creates a sense of trust and obligations between members which could lead to exchange of resources like information or economic support and these relationships are guided by certain norms which guide social relations (Coleman 1988: 102-104).

Putnam (1993) echoes the importance of trust as a feature of social capital but also emphasizes the need for reciprocity. His notion of social capital is linked to the operations of democratic governance and how social capital can lead to effective governance. Putnam (1993) carried out a study on political reforms in Italy and explored why democratic reform was more successful in certain parts of the region than others. He concluded that areas with more civic engagement had better and more successful democratic practices (Putnam 1993). He attributed this to the presence of social capital in various civil societies and organizations. He defines social capital as "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and

networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam 1993: 167). This concept of social capital is built on three components which include norms and moral obligations; social networks and ties; and social values guided by trust (Putnam 2000: 2). This implies that trust, norms and networks are stimulants for effective social relations and systems. Elsewhere, he distinguishes social capital from other forms of capital, even though they all can be employed to achieve certain interests and goals. He states that, “while physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam 2000: 18-19).

For Putnam, social capital is not only employed to fulfil personal interests, but can also be an integrating stimulant in social relationships. He states that people tend to work together efficiently when there is a great “stock of social capital” (Putnam 1993: 36). Elsewhere, he adds that “where trust and social networks flourish, individuals, firms, neighbourhoods, and even nations prosper” (Putnam 2000: 319). Trust is indeed of great importance to the formation of social relationships and networks. Putnam’s analysis suggests that a prosperous nation is one which is socially connected and founded on certain levels of trust, moral obligations and norms. Therefore, an individualistic society with low stocks of social capital is not only socially fragmented but is also bound to fail developmentally. Putnam reiterates that “a well-connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well-connected society” (2000: 20). In sum, social networks influence not just people’s behaviour, but their level of productivity in society as a result of the positive value of social capital. In light of this, Putnam contends that “...social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups” (2000: 18-19). Although these scholars present diverse definitions of social capital, they all agree that it can be used to benefit members of a network. Durlauf and Fafchamps (2004) summarize the various perspectives on social capital:

- (1) Social capital generates positive externalities for members of a group; (2) These externalities are achieved through shared trust, norms, and values and their consequent effects on expectations and behaviour; (3) Shared trust,

norms, and values arise from informal forms of organizations based on social networks and associations (Durlauf and Fafchamps 2004: 174).

3.5.1. Bonding and bridging capital

Like any other form of capital, social capital can also be used to achieve benefits for individuals. It is an important tool that is used to integrate people within and across a network. It links people with common characteristics and across those in heterogeneous relationships. Before exploring how social capital acts as a bond and bridge within networks, it is important to explore the concept of homophily and how it applies to networks.

Homophily is a concept that explains the influence of perceived similarities among nodes that instigates the formation of networks. It is defined as “having one or more common social attributes, like the same social class. More technically, pairs can be said to be homophilous if their characteristics match in a proportion greater than expected in the population from which they are drawn or the network of which they are a part” (Kadushin 2004: 5). There are two classifications of homophily, value and status homophily. Value homophily occurs when people are connected because they share the same beliefs which include religion or traditions; while status homophily is the connection of people who share a common class and attributes (Centola et al 2007: 906). The theory argues that individuals are more likely to form network ties with people who are similar to them (Golub and Jackson 2011). This is because people are more comfortable developing relationships with those that have the same characteristics like culture, race, gender, religion or class. McPherson et al (2001) postulate that the presence of homophily leads to the formation of different types of network ties which include affective ties such as marriage and friendship; and supportive ties such as work, advice, exchange of information, and financial support. By implication, social differences can obstruct the formation of ties. This is supported by McPherson et al when they conclude that “homophily is the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people” (McPherson et al. 2001: 416). Homophily therefore, influences the formation of network ties and shapes the nature of relationships within the network. On the one hand, it can lead to social categorization and on the other, it can sustain cultural diversity through the continued interaction of different groups over a long period of time which eventually melts the different barriers and creates common ground where

perceived similarity becomes the basis for interaction. In the latter case, bridging social capital is employed to blur the lines of diversity and foster interaction between diverse groups.

Putnam (2000) explains how social capital can foster relations among people of sameness and diversity through bonding and bridging. Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 225) note that social capital can be evident within and across a community. Bonding capital is associated with the kinds of bonds that exist within communities. The term community connotes a group of people bound by certain socio-cultural affiliations. It includes various “forms of collective life in which people are tied together through tradition, interpersonal contacts, informal relationships, and particular affinities, interests or similarities” (Storper 2005: 34). It is described as a social attachment of people bound by common traditions, beliefs and practices. Cobb (1992: 2) adds that “in a community, people take responsibility for collective activity and are loyal to each other beyond self-interest. They work together on the basis of shared values. They hold each other accountable for commitments”. A community therefore has a strong bond of trust, identity and loyalty among its members as a result of a perceived notion of belonging built on sameness and collective good.

Society differs from a community in terms of what binds or brings people together. Society “generally refers to collectives held together through anonymous, rule-bound, more transparent, formal, and universalistic principles” (Storper 2005: 35). Ferlander notes that a society consists of weak relationships which are somewhat impersonal, formal and calculative without any boundaries (Ferlander 2003: 34). Society therefore suggests a more open and complex relationship which is not built on homogeneity or sameness. Hampton (2001: 11) explains that societal relations are impersonal and individualistic. As a result of its recognition of individuality rather than the communal, it allows for the existence of differences. These various descriptions of society describe a fragmented and fluid arrangement of people rather than an organic whole which is depicted in a community. It is based on this that Storper (2005: 35) asserts that “bonding... operationalizes the classical notion of community, and bridging that of the society”. Simply put, and in relation to the discussion on the utility of social capital for networks, bonding is a dimension of social

capital that is evident among people with homogeneous characteristics, while bridging has to do with people with differences.

Putnam and Goss (2002: 11) explain that the term bonding in social relations within a network has to do with uniting or bringing “together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on).” Dahal and Adhikari (2008: 11) explain it as the connection that exists among people because they share common demographic characteristics. Homogeneity or sameness is the bond that connects these agents and enables them to create and utilize social capital within a network. As Woolcock and Sweetser (2002:26) note, “bonding social capital refers to connections to people like you (family, relatives, kinship).” Therefore this dimension of social capital is evident in networks of strong ties. They share a common culture or identity which is a bond that enables them to create ties easily as they perceive themselves as homogeneous. In other words, members of this social network comfortably form social relations and develop trust of one another as a result of their common characteristics. As Storper (2005: 42) puts it, “actors trust each other because of their common cultural background, shared values, and strong reputation effects due to dense interpersonal networks”. This leads to a closed network system of only those perceived to share certain characteristics. Knudsen et al (2010: 7) reiterate that “bonding social capital reinforces exclusive identities and homogeneous groups”. It is mainly present in social networks that are homophilous in nature.

One of the consequences of bonding is the production of reciprocity or mutuality in relations among members of a network, thereby creating a sense of solidarity (Putnam 2000: 22). In his study of social networks in the community of Jewish diamond traders in New York, Coleman (1988) states that due to the existence of social cohesion and trust within this community, the traders have a sense of obligation to one another (Coleman 1988). Trust in bonding social capital is characterized by reciprocity and mutuality. Torche and Valenzuela (2011: 181) argue that “reciprocity is the type of social capital embedded within personal relations...” It is an unspoken norm that expects actors to treat others the way they were or expect to be treated. Reciprocity is “a social dynamic whereby persons give, receive, and return” (Torche and Valenzuela 2011: 188). This type of trust therefore regulates social relations among members of networks as a conscious effort is made not to betray trust between members. This guides the relationship, creating not only obligations but sanctions in

situations where trust is broken. Storper (2005: 36) explains that trust in relationships reduces certain “moral hazards”. The level of trust within a bonded community or network is intense and personal. Putnam (2000) describes this kind of trust as thick trust. In his words, it “refers to trust with a short radius, encompassing only others who are close to the truster” (Putnam 2000: 466). A short radius refers to the social distance between the actors in the network. Therefore, the closer and more personal the relationship is between actors, the greater the level of trust.

On the negative side, this solidarity that creates a bond and connection among people who are perceived as homogeneous paradoxically excludes those perceived to be different. Schuller et al (2000: 10) note that apart from creating a link between “like-minded people, or the reinforcement of homogeneity”, it also has an adverse effect on those outside in ways that can lead to the construction of “higher walls excluding those who do not qualify”. Bonding social capital is ironically advantageous to only those perceived to be within the social network because they share a certain degree of perceived sameness. Granoveter (1983) explains that, while, in common with other forms of capital, members can benefit from bonding social capital through access to resources and information within this closed group, this invariably excludes and prevents the formation of social relations outside the homogeneous group. It therefore ignites group identities that advocate sameness rather than differences. In Ester’s (2006: 188) words, “bonding social capital is exclusive and inward looking and tends to reinforce group identity and group solidarity”.

It has been argued that attaining bonding social capital in a network is more plausible than bridging social capital because of the difficulty in developing trust across diverse people. Storper (2005: 36) reiterates that “bonding is a lot easier to come by than bridging and that where many different groups are present, it is much more difficult to achieve high levels of social capital than in more homogeneous societies.” As noted earlier, bridging social capital is evident in cases where individuals are diverse. Putnam and Goss (2002: 11) explain that it has to do with bringing “together people who are unlike one another”. Field (2003) concurs that it brings people together across different social divisions. Woolcock and Sweetser (2002: 26) explain that this diversity is usually based on demographic origin. Diversity varies from cultural to social and economic. Putnam (2000: 22) explains that it usually encompasses

“diverse social cleavages”. It is therefore not sufficient to describe diversity simply as a difference in demographic origins or ethnicity. De Souza Briggs (2003) provides a broader picture of diversity. He states that bridging includes building ties across diversity which includes “roles, status differences, material and symbolic interests, space, norms, and even worldviews” (De Souza Briggs 2003: 2).

As a result of this diversity, bridging social capital can be found in ties that are not necessarily kinship-based or convivial. Rather, it is usually present in weak network ties (De Souza Briggs 2003: 10). Grannoveter (1973) describes such ties as fragile, and impersonal and characterized by relative trust among strangers. Furthermore, the kind of trust evident in bridging social capital is not as intense as that found in bonding social capital. Newton (1997: 578) describes it as “thin trust”. Thin trust is a type of trust “with a long radius, encompassing people at a greater social distance from the truster” (Putnam, 2000: 466). A long radius implies an impersonal and more formal relationship. As a result of social distance, this type of trust is not based on affection but is formal and impersonal. It is the kind of trust that is found among business associates or work colleagues. Kavanaugh et al (2003: 2) state that “thin trust is less personal, based on indirect, secondary social relations”. Torche and Valenzuela (2011: 186) expound that this type of trust “transcends the particularism of personal relations, universalizing duties and obligations beyond those established by reciprocity”. Lancee (2012: 27) adds that thin trust is an important type of trust which serves a different purpose from thick trust but is characterized by loose and weak ties. The nature of ties between diverse actors is not guided by reciprocity. People with long social distance between them are referred to as strangers within the network. A stranger is described as a person “who I have no personal obligations with because I have not received anything from him. The stranger is characterized by the condition of impersonality or anonymity” (Torche and Valenzuela 2011: 186). Therefore, thin trust is evident across diverse networks with weak ties.

This does not necessarily imply that bridging social capital which is present in weak ties is less important. In essence, “weak ties are more instrumental than strong ties – providing informational resources rather than support and exchange of confidences” (Kavanaugh et al 2003: 3). Bonding social capital serves a different purpose from that of bridging social

capital. The main purpose of bridging social capital is to “get ahead” (Lancee 2012: 14). The nature of social capital that can be accessed across networks through bridging is one that provides opportunities for actors that cannot be achieved within a close knit network. As Stone explains, “bridging ties with people from different networks can provide access to opportunities” to actors across networks (Stone 2003: 13). Paxton (1999) adds that one of the benefits of bridging social capital is the provision and exchange of resources across diverse groups. The nature of network ties, otherwise known as relationships, which occur across the boundaries of various networks provide a wider channel for exchange of resources, information and opportunities. Burt (2001) reiterates that an open network with relations across diverse networks is important in gaining new opportunities that actors will not necessarily obtain from their closed network. The need to access or exchange resources or information initiates the development of thin trust among actors of diverse networks. In Torche and Valenzuela’s (2011: 190) words, “it is only within impersonal relations – with those to whom we owe nothing, and to whom we are not linked by affection or obligation of any sort – that trust emerges as a compulsory necessity and a purposeful decision”. Developing trust for a stranger becomes a necessity in order to achieve an end result. Simply put, while in bonding social capital trust is developed due to the comfort of perceived similarity and the norm of reciprocity; in bridging social capital, trust is developed out of necessity and is described as “getting ahead”.

Another important factor that should be taken into consideration in terms of bridging social capital is its inclusive nature. Schuller et al (2000: 10) argue that although the ties and connections among heterogeneous networks are fragile, they tend to foster social inclusion among these diverse groups. The nature of the tie that exists in bridging social capital extends beyond closed networks to create relationships across diversity. Ester (2006) states that “bridging social capital refers to inclusive and outward looking social networks across diverse cleavages” (Ester 2006: 7). She further explains that a community that has bonding social capital and lacks bridging social capital is likely to “degenerate into social enmeshment, narrow-mindedness, or intolerance” (Ester 2006: 10). In this sense, bridging social capital can be an important factor for social inclusion and tolerance of diversity in a multicultural and pluralistic world.

It is important at this juncture to note that these two dimensions of social capital, that is bonding and bridging, are not necessarily exclusive of each other. Although different, they sometimes overlap. As Staveren and Knorringa (2008: 115) explain,

the two categories of social capital are not mutually exclusive. An economy needs both types of social capital. It requires a minimum level of bonding social capital for bridging social capital to emerge. Bonding social capital generates externalities for individual agents' behaviour from group practices, creating and reproducing certain social capabilities, for example, the adherence to social norms, which may include mutual help, trustworthiness, sociability, solidarity, loyalty and responsibility, as well as knowledge sharing. Bridging social capital builds on these social capabilities – it will not just arise by itself in a society without any experience of close bonds between people in families, friendships, associations and organizations. The relationship between the two however, is not straightforward; the two levels of social capital seem to be partly trade-offs and partly supporting each other.

Simply put, a friend who is a work colleague could share both dimensions of social capital. Therefore categorizing them as exclusive of each other may be problematic. Although it is possible for each dimension to exist in isolation, in certain cases these two capitals complement each other.

3.6. Conclusion

The conceptual tools relating to networks discussed in this chapter will be employed to holistically examine and explain the nature of relationships between African migrants and South African citizens by exploring the network ties among the various nodes. Social network theory is useful in exploring the nature and effects of interactions between various people (Jack et al 2010), and it is a pertinent explanatory framework to explore relationships between Nigerian migrants and South African citizens. The concepts will be used to explore the nature of bonding and bridging of these two groups which are characterized by socio-cultural diversity. They will also help to shed light on the durability of the ties between them and on the variables that sustain these ties. These may include race, class, ethnicity, employment and affective relationships such as friendship.

This chapter assessed the various ideas behind social network theories. It explained the self-interest theory that regards networks as tools that migrants can use for integration. Embedded within this theory is social capital that enables conviviality during intergroup contact. The following chapter reviews other studies that expand on how the concepts and ideas employed in network theory link to the integration of migrants in host communities.

CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF NETWORKS IN MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION INTO HOST COMMUNITIES

Migrants find themselves in different kinds of networks that are important for their integration into the host community. For example, they benefit from belonging to transnational networks between their home and host countries, as well as home associations in their host countries. A number of studies have explored these linkages. Mercer et al (2009) describe how Cameroonian and Tanzanian “home associations” in the diaspora have contributed to the development of their sending countries. Singh and Sausi (2010) explore the socio-economic benefits Nigerian migrants in Durban accrue from being members of indigenous networks, also referred to as home town associations. Indigenous networks provide bonding capital within minorities with shared nationalities and ethnicities. Social networks are extremely important in supporting migrants in their host communities. They also play a crucial role in integrating migrants into the host community by orientating newcomers on how to get by in a strange environment and introducing them to members of the host community. However, the focus of this study is the actual ties that form between migrant populations and the host community – in effect across national and ethnic boundaries. It also explores the role of networks in providing bridging capital among migrants and members of their host communities.

Network ties between migrants and members of the host community are integral in integrating migrants into the host community (Porus 2011). The host community plays a fundamental role in the integration of migrants either through bonding or bridging. Miguel and Tranmer (2009: 2) argue that “it is not just the existence of support relationships with people from the same culture, but also with people from the receiving culture that best predict successful social integration”. Therefore, in analysing their integration into their host countries, it is important to investigate migrants’ ties with members of host societies.

To buttress this argument, this chapter examines four studies on the role of networks in the integration of migrants into their host communities in Spain, the United States, and South Africa. It is acknowledged that these case studies are predominantly of Northern countries. This is due to the fact that very few studies have been conducted on migrants’ networks with members of host communities in Africa. Most of the studies on African migrants’ networks

focus on ties within migrant communities (see Mercer et al 2009; Singh and Sausi 2010). The first study that was carried out by Lubber et al (2001) examines the role of network ties in the integration of migrants in a host community in Spain and identifies the nature and characteristics of these ties. The second study by Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008) explores how network ties between migrants and members of a host community in Boston in the United States influence their various cultures in both directions. The third study by Miguel and Tranmer (2009) shows how migrants create network ties with members of a host community in Spain to enable their integration, and identifies the various factors that influenced the formation of these ties. The final study by Kirshner (2012) looks at how African migrants in South Africa used social bridging capital to develop network ties and integrate into their host community.

4.1. Nature and characteristics of network ties and their impact on migrants' integration

Lubber et al (2001) explored the role and nature of personal networks in the integration of 25 Argentinean migrants in Spain and how the role and nature of these networks evolved over time. The authors (2001: 3) note that “the process of reconstructing the network in the host country both reflects and influences the process of integration and psychological adaptation”. This study was interested in the evolving character of the personal networks of migrants as a result of the ever changing needs of migrants in the host society across time. Migrants' networks have to be reconstructed and ties have to change in order to cater for changing needs, and this in turn affects their integration into the host society. They argue that “international migration disrupts personal networks, as it alters the individual needs of the migrating actor and the ability of his or her network members to fulfil these needs” (Lubber et al 2001: 93). In order to capture how these networks evolved, a longitudinal network analysis was carried out over a period of five years.

Lubber et al (2001) found that, in investigating migrants' integration in their host communities, it is important to take into cognizance their place of origin as this influenced such integration. They categorized the members of the networks into four groups based on their nationality and origins: “alters who were originally Spanish and lived in Spain (hosts); alters who were originally Argentinean but lived in Spain (fellows), alters who were

originally Argentinean and lived in Argentina (originals), and others (transnationals)” (Lubber et al 2001: 96). Furthermore, they constructed a general model of the phases of networks created by immigrants in the host community. In the first phase, immigrants develop networks that comprise of mostly kin members and other immigrants and interaction or ties with members of the host community are unusual (Lubber et al 2001: 94). This is expected as immigrants are new to the host community and have little or no contact with members of this community. They are likely to rely more on their kin members or fellow migrants for social support and information on how to settle in the host community. In the second phase, immigrants are more likely to develop ties with members of the host community and interaction or communication increases as a result of contact in the work place, neighborhood, schools and other social settings (Lubber et al 2001: 94). It is assumed that immigrants will have more dealings with members of the host community because they would have settled in and be involved in the social settings of this community. Some may attend churches and schools, or participate in sports and they may also have members of the host community as neighbours. Geographical and social proximity increases the chances of relations and contact between the immigrants and members of the host community. The authors note that, in the second stage,

the number of contacts in the new place of residence gradually increases. Consequently, new clusters appear (consisting of fellow migrants, the transnational community, and nationals from the country of residence) and the heterogeneity of the network increases. At the same time, we expected that the number of contacts in the country of origin decreases, as immigrants end their distant weak ties (Lubber et al 2001: 94).

Increased contact with members of the host community has a dual effect on the nature of the personal networks formed by immigrants. While it increases the number of members of the host community within their networks, it also decreases the numbers of ties with kin members. The authors refer to these kin ties as “distant weak ties”. It is thus assumed that at this stage, relations with kin members and members of sending countries weaken. During the final stage, they assert that there is great interconnectedness between the different groups of people with a greater numbers of ties and relations. They argue that greater integration can be expected during this stage as relations between the immigrants and members of the host society are expected to increase. However, this is not a given as certain factors such as segregation in social settings may hinder this process (Lubber et al 2001: 94).

The findings of this study revealed two different patterns of how the Argentines' personal networks evolved. They showed that, among a few Argentinean immigrants, the ties between kinship members strengthened over time as a result of marrying an Argentinean which rejuvenated kinship ties in Argentina and Spain, taking up employment in a family business or sharing recreational activities like soccer with fellow Argentinians (Lubber et al 2001: 94). All these factors increased relations with kinship members and rather than distant weak ties with kin members, ties were strengthened. There was also a group of Argentinians whose network structure remained the same over time. The study found that the stability of the network created by this group was attributed to stable marriages. Even where old ties were replaced by new ties, this group of immigrants maintained the nature of their personal ties. The study further argues that this was possibly due to transitivity, which occurs when people within a network share common friends and therefore, when a person loses a contact, he or she simply replaces them with another person from social gatherings which are a regular pool from which to source friends. Among the endogenous reasons for acquiring new contacts or losing old ones without changing the proportion of Spaniards, fellow migrants, alters in the country of origin, and transnationals, the most important was transitivity, which substituted former acquaintances with the same role. Ten respondents indicated that partners, family members, or friends of friends became their own network members over time. Life cycle related ceremonies such as birthday parties and funerals can develop new contacts of a certain class (Lubber et al 2001: 95-96).

Another group of Argentinian immigrants' networks was consistent with the model. The network of 13 Argentinian immigrants evolved over time to become a network of more Spaniards and less kin members and Argentinians (Lubber et al 2001: 96). The findings of the study showed that immigrants had increased ties and contact with Spaniards. This was due to various factors and activities which include marriage, the study environment, social activities such as music festivals, and a shared neighbourhood, amongst other things (Lubber et al 2001: 96). These factors stimulated integration among the immigrants. In a setting where exchanges are unavoidable and unrestrictive such as in social and academic settings, there is bound to be some form of integration between immigrants and their hosts.

In addition, the study explored how the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants, which include gender, age, occupation and marital status, influence the formation and nature of networks between the Argentinean immigrants and the Spaniards. The findings showed that these demographic characteristics did not influence the strength of network ties among the groups; instead, factors such as the characteristics of the ties had more influence. It notes that, “the stability of ties could not be explained by ego characteristics, such as length of residence, age, gender and marital status..., relational characteristics appeared to be better predictors. First, strong ties, as measured by ego’s feelings of closeness to alter, their frequency of contact, and the centrality of the alter in the personal network was more consistent” (Lubber et al 2001: 102). The three factors cited were the main determinants of the strength of the ties between the Argentinean immigrants and Spaniards and influenced the formation of state types or event types of networks and their duration.

In summary, Lubber et al (2001) showed that immigrants’ social networks are not static but ever changing and evolve based on the duration of their stay in the host community. They also contend that the development and nature of networks between migrants and members of the host community can be influenced by certain socio-economic factors which include education, gender and nationality. They therefore conclude that social networks are very important for the integration of migrants as they enable the development of relationships and interaction between migrants and members of the host community which can be supportive of the migrants. Furthermore, these relationships do not have to be affective ties.

4.2. Impact of networks on cultural differences

Dominguez and Maya-Jariego’s (2008) study is quite different as it not only examines the role played by members of the host society in immigrants’ networks but the impact of this relationship on the culture of members of the host society. Two different studies were conducted. The first was a study of the networks of 237 immigrants, including 67 Argentineans, 59 Ecuadorians, 37 Italians and 37 Germans in Seville and Cadiz (both in Spain); and the second was an ethnographic study aimed at examining the role of host individuals – Human Service Providers (HSPs) – in the personal networks of Latin-American immigrants in Boston (United States of America) (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008).

The authors argue that examining changes in the culture of host individuals is important because unlike assimilation theory, which argues that immigrants' culture has to be done away with and the dominant culture must be practiced, in reality there is a blending of culture when two different cultures interact. Simply put, the dominant culture also imbibes some of the less dominant culture when the two interact; this can be related back to the discussion of hybridity and cosmopolitanism. The authors describe this as

a process of mutual change of individuals and groups of different cultures that come into continuous contact ...Acculturation alters the composition of the personal network by increasing its heterogeneity while also affecting the level of structural cohesion, as well-defined groups of players (e.g., well connected compatriots versus host individuals) appear more frequently. All of these changes lead to reorganization in the distribution of support and leverage functions (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 122-123).

Understanding the process of acculturation between immigrants and host individuals is important as it informs the structure and nature of the immigrants' personal networks. The first study on the personal networks of Argentineans, Ecuadorians, Italians and Germans who resided in Seville and Cadiz explored the role of host individuals in the immigrants' networks. The immigrants in this study, identified an average of 17 members within each of their personal networks, and the host individuals who provided support within these networks made up 45%, with 28.6% of the social support core (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 124). In comparison, the German immigrants' personal network was more heterogeneous as it consisted of more host individuals. The study showed that,

Germans also have the broadest social support networks, with more Spaniard support providers than the other three groups...On the other hand, by comparison, the ethnic composition of Ecuadorians' and Italians' networks is more biased towards the endo-group, that is to say, the group of ethnic origin (family and compatriot relationships) (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 124).

By implication, the immigrants with more host individuals as members of their personal networks than compatriots obtained more social support than those whose networks

comprised of more compatriots than host individuals. Compatriots in this sense refer to fellow immigrants at home or in the host country. Support in this context refers to various forms of assistance provided to immigrants that will enable integration.

However, Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008) contend that the roles played by host individuals in immigrants' personal networks are secondary because they have less centrality than compatriots (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 1). The level of centrality among the migrants differed depending on duration of stay. The immigrants were redistributed into four different clusters based on the number of years they had resided in the host country. According to the authors,

the lowest average centrality was observed in recent and temporal migrants, whereas the highest corresponded to the individuals with more time of residence in Spain... Cluster 1 represents recent migrants, which are more connected and more identified with other compatriots than with Spaniards. Furthermore, the host culture members have a low centrality in their networks and provide a comparatively low number of types of social support. On the other hand, the respondents classified in Cluster 4 have on average lived in Spain longer and were more likely to express the intention to stay in Spain in the future. They have experienced a longer time of socialization in the new country, and Spaniards play a more important role in their networks, with more centrality, more closeness, and a greater number of types of social support provided. The other two clusters are in between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2, as in a continuum... (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 1 and 6).

This is consistent with Lubber et al's (2001) argument that duration of stay in a host country plays an important role in the structure and composition of personal networks. Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008) argue that immigrants have stronger ties with host individuals due to prolonged socialisation and interaction.

The second study conducted by Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008) sought to explore the role of host individuals in the personal networks of Latin-American immigrants in Boston. It revealed that host individuals play an important role in immigrants' personal networks, but this interaction has a dual effect on the host and the immigrants. The study focused on ten

HSP – who act as a nexus between immigrants and the host community – and how their functions expose them to acculturation. The authors argue that as social spaces narrow, boundaries between groups diffuse and interchange occurs where culture diverges. In the case of this study, HSP who work with immigrants formed an interface between converging cultures. The study focused on how service providers who are members of the dominant culture (European-Americans) are culturally influenced by the immigrants with whom they work (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 8).

The findings showed that prolonged contact with Latin-American immigrants had a great impact on the culture and lifestyles of the service providers. The authors assert that, “the level of acculturation depended on the amount of exposure to Latin-American culture experienced by each host member in the sample” (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 10). The study respondents’ duration of contact with immigrants ranged from five to 25 years. The sample was categorized into three units based on the duration of contact with Latin American immigrants. These categories include travelers, Frontier Brokers and Residents (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 10). Travellers are those that have limited duration of contact with the immigrants. They are called transient service providers who were temporarily exposed to Latin American culture (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 11). Although some of these travellers had worked with immigrants for a long time, this did not significantly impact their culture and lifestyle. This is the case because, “these individuals maintain the Latin-American immigrants at a distance. They visit the Latin-American culture but always temporarily. Travellers experience changes in attitude, behaviour and, to a certain degree, values but do not manifest changes in language or interpersonal relationships” (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 10). The travelers’ limited and bridged contact with Latin American immigrants to some extent changes their perceptions of immigrants which influences their tolerance of differences but does not necessarily influence their personal identity. The authors explain the role that travelers play in the integration of Latin American immigrants and how this influences the nature of their relationship as follows:

the relationship between travelers and immigrants is that of teacher and student, and it manifests a power differential. This power differential maintains distance between the two and creates boundaries that are formally enforced...In fact, in close-knit communities, networks tend to manifest the

“strength of strong ties” that lead to a form of “bounded solidarity” and “enforceable trust” which can restrict and control members of that community’s relationships (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 11).

This suggests that the nature of ties between the immigrants and travelers is a state type of tie which is formal and structured. This does not necessarily mean that the host individuals do not play a supportive role in the immigrants’ integration; on the contrary they do. However, this relationship is not convivial as it is based on mutual respect and trust between the two groups. Therefore, as a result of the nature of this tie (the state type) the impact of acculturation on the travellers can be said to be minimal.

The second group of service providers who were referred to as Frontier Brokers had more contact and interaction with the immigrants than the travelers. Frontier Brokers provided a lot of support for the Latin-American immigrants in Boston. In order to do this, they had to have close relationships with immigrants and even include them within their personal networks. Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008: 11) posit that one of the roles played by these Frontier Brokers in immigrants’ networks is to act as a bridge between the two cultures. The Frontier Brokers become the melting pot where differences meet and merge in a diverse community; they are thus referred to as integrating bridges. Bochner explains the role of integrating bridges as those individuals in the host community who act as “mediating persons, persons who have the ability to act as links between different cultural systems... by introducing, translating, representing and reconciling the cultures to each other” (cited in Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 11-12). The study showed that due to the kinds of social support provided by the Frontier Brokers to the immigrants, trust was crucial in the relationship between the two groups. They explain that the HSP provided various forms of social support including, for example, social services such as housing and emotional support to ensure the integration of immigrants into Boston (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 12). In order to provide these forms of support, they had to have direct and frequent contact and interaction with immigrants and the effect on the Frontier Brokers was a change in their culture and lifestyle. According to the authors, they

continuously worked with immigrants for several years. They have achieved increased sensitivity regarding the plight of immigrants as evidenced by their work to help and incorporate immigrants. They are bilingual, and they have

incorporated values and behaviours associated with a substantial understanding of Latin-American culture that allows them to be extremely effective in the work they do. All this involvement and exposure facilitates incorporation of immigrants into their own personal networks. Such change would reflect a high level of acculturation to the immigrant culture made by a representative of the dominant culture. Yet, when doing social network inventories, it became clear that their social relationships consist of other individuals with shared traits (religious and/or sexual orientation) (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 12).

Ironically, the support and trust that developed between the Frontier Brokers and the immigrants did not influence the composition of the service providers' personal networks that mainly consisted of people who shared the same beliefs as them (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 12). While they aimed to provide a favourable environment for the integration of immigrants into the Boston community, their interaction with the immigrants changed their cultures. However, this change did not impact on their personal networks as immigrants were absent within these networks.

Lastly, the residents are groups who experienced a greater level of acculturation due to their interaction with immigrants which also had an effect on the composition of their personal networks. Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008: 12) describe them as persons who

have immersed themselves in the immigrant culture... They get involved with immigrants through work that initially acts as a boundary between the two groups but ends up being breached through a close relationship that develops with a member of that group. Residents end up with increased sensitivity, adoption of values and behaviours, and experience a radical change in their personal networks.

Residents initially provide support to immigrants, and through their work they develop relationships with them and eventually adopt them into their personal networks. This goes beyond acculturation to the development of strong ties with immigrants. Of all the individuals in the sample, only one who was a resident acculturated and integrated. This resident had the most number of immigrants in her personal network (more than half of the

total network population) (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 15). These Latin-American immigrants are not just composites of her networks but constitute part of her state type ties. The resident's strong ties network was divided into four groups, family, work, friendship and household; immigrants were part of her household, work and friendship ties (Dominguez and Maya-Jariego 2008: 14). Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008) thus showed that host individuals interact with immigrants and provide support which enables their integration. This interaction leads to the development of different types of ties depending on the nature and duration of the contact. More importantly, they argue that immigrants are not the only group who experience a change in culture; individuals within the host community are also influenced by this interaction which translates to a change in their values, lifestyles, cultures and even their personal networks, a process they refer to as acculturation.

4.3. Networks and factors that enable the formation of ties

According to Miguel and Tranmer (2009), in 2007, the population of immigrants in Spain accounted for 10% of the national population, with migrants mostly from Northern Europe and Morocco (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 2). Immigration into Spain increased tremendously and this raised questions about how immigrants and Spaniards relate to each other, and how these relations influence the integration of immigrants. To answer these questions, Miguel and Tranmer (2009) carried out a network study to explore how personal networks between immigrants in Spain and Spaniards enabled the integration of immigrants into Spanish society. They argue that the presence of immigrants and the support they receive from Spaniards within their networks show that positive relationships exist between immigrants and Spaniards. In their words, "the existence of ties to Spaniards in the personal support networks of immigrants, and the number and role of these ties to local actors can thus be considered as key indicators of the degree of accommodation of the immigrants in the new environment" (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 2). Furthermore, they investigated the types of ties within the migrants' networks. This is important because the types of ties influence the nature of the relationship between immigrants and members of the host community. While the investigation of affectionate and affective ties was not part of the study's main objectives, it revealed that the ties between immigrants and Spaniards were usually based on friendship, neighbourliness and work-related associations (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 16).

These ties were the foundation for interaction and later, the integration of these migrants into Spain. The authors assert that the reception of migrants into the host country was feasible in certain cases due to the existence of various forms of interaction and links between them and the Spaniards. They assert that, “ties from immigrants to Spaniards help to build bridges that diversify the access to resources, and help immigrants to integrate into the Spanish population in both a psychological and an instrumental way...” (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 3). They also explored the factors that facilitated the interaction and accommodation of immigrants. A very important factor that influenced immigrants’ integration into the host society was their demographic attributes. The study showed that “the relative socio-demographic characteristics of the ego to those of the alter will best determine the probability of a tie between an immigrant and an alter that is a Spaniard” (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 5). Certain immigrants were less integrated into the Spanish community due to their country of origin. Immigrants from Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America were least favoured and were least likely to develop ties with Spaniards (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 5). Furthermore, in exploring the composition of the immigrant networks, the study revealed that immigrants from Africa fared worst as they rarely had Spaniards as members of their network. They (African immigrants) therefore did not have much interaction and relations with Spaniards. “Immigrants from Maghreb and the rest of Africa hardly ever mention any Spaniards in their networks, and, when they do they do not mention many of them” (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 12).

Another important factor that enabled the development of networks between immigrants and Spaniards was migrants’ academic qualifications and skills. For instance, the Spaniards were more likely to accommodate and support migrants with certain academic qualifications and skills, and a similar language of communication (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 5). This suggests that, aside from cultural and perhaps racial background, education and by extension, class also affected the development of relations between the immigrants and Spaniards. The study showed that migrants with high academic qualifications counted more Spaniards in their networks (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 5). Therefore, ties were formed more easily between migrants and Spaniards when there was cultural similarity between them and the acceptance of migrants was also easier if they had high academic qualifications. This is

consistent with the principle of segmented assimilation which states that there are different paths⁵ through which migrants become integrated into the host community.

Another interesting dimension revealed in the study was how gender influenced relations between the immigrants and Spaniards. Miguel and Tranmer (2009: 11) state that Spaniards were more present in female immigrants' social networks. They explain that this is usually the case because of the nature of the geography and space of meeting. They note that

regarding gender, Spanish alters are slightly more likely to be female than male, maybe indicating the more straightforward chances of contacting them in informal or casual scenarios, such as that of the neighbourhood, school of their children, shops they frequent, etc., while male Spaniards are more likely to be known through their work environment, which is often quite segregated and restricts the real opportunities of an exchange of support (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 13).

This implies that the informal geographic setting where women meet enabled the formation of network ties between the female migrants and female Spaniards. This is due to women's social and domestic responsibilities like shopping or taking children to school, which connects migrant women to Spanish women and influences the formation of ties. The informal environment where they meet also influences the type of ties they develop. These ties are usually more friendly, relaxed and accommodating of diversity than those of men which are more formal, restricted and business-like. The study explains that these informal settings influence female Spaniards' attitudes and make them more accommodating to female immigrants. While female settings encourage the formation of friendly ties, male settings do not provide opportunities for interaction on such levels.

In terms of support, the study illustrated that network ties extended beyond the accommodation of immigrants to the provision of material support. However, it only investigated economic assistance and not emotional or social support that is found in relationships, marriages and friendship (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 7). The authors describe the dynamic roles of the immigrants and Spaniards in the network. According to de Miguel-Luken, in terms of support and assistance within the networks of the two groups, "Spaniards

⁵ See Chapter two

more often act as help providers instead of receivers, and an ego is more susceptible when he or she first immigrates to Spain, and hence usually assumes the position of beneficiary” (cited in Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 10). This implies that the immigrants were more vulnerable during the initial stage of their arrival as they had not integrated into the host community and needed certain kinds of support like employment, shelter and information. As a result, Spaniards offered such social support to the immigrants. The study revealed that Spaniards were present in the networks and ties of immigrants and that, to some extent, they supported the migrants. Miguel and Tranmer (2009: 10) contend that “the presence of at least one Spanish alter is quite common in the personal support networks of the interviewed immigrants. Almost 70% of them mentioned at least one Spaniard with whom some kind of assistance is exchanged in terms of accommodation, job search, information or material help”. However, due to certain factors noted previously, such as country of origin, the support granted to immigrants was selective. The authors reiterate that

prejudices are operating beyond the limits of the general discourse, and that the interactions in terms of support exchanges between immigrants and Spaniards are not the same across nationalities. It is interesting to note the advantage of Portuguese immigrants, whose more intense communication with Spaniards can be understood partially as a consequence of the traditional frontier relationship that exists between the two countries in some of the sampled geographical areas (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 17).

In short, the study shows that social networks are important in the integration of migrants. It argues that support networks composed of members of the host community foster integration. In the authors words,

social network composition is found to be important when assessing the degree of adaptation of immigrants to the new milieu in Spain. The number of Spaniards or, at least, the presence of Spaniards in the support network has a positive effect on the immigrant’s ecological transition and social integration (Miguel and Tranmer 2009: 23).

However, the network composition and degree of integration is influenced by various social factors such as class, gender, culture and country of origin. Not all migrants were accommodated in the Spanish host society and social features such as class, nationality and culture were key to creating ties with the host community.

4.4. Networks as a tool for integration within the African context

Kirshner's (2012) study focused on the small township of Khutsong, close to Johannesburg as a case study to show how African migrants develop ties with South Africans irrespective of their differences and how these ties enable them to integrate in Khutsong. He further explains the factors that enable the formation of such relationships. According to Kirshner, many African immigrants integrate well into the host community without experiencing any form of xenophobia or hostility. This was the case even during the xenophobic attacks in May 2008. He notes that during this period, when xenophobia spread like wide-fire across various places in South Africa, Khutsong, a small township ridden with poverty and an increased presence of African migrants, experienced no xenophobic attacks and was known to be tolerant and accepting of migrants (Kirshner 2012: 1308). This is a good example of non-hostile relations and integration.

However, this was not always the case. In the past, African migrants in the small mining town experienced hostility and xenophobia on the part of local residents. The author explains that during apartheid, migrant workers were geographically isolated from local residents on mines and in hostels (Kirshner 2012). The demise of apartheid coupled with downsizing in the mining sector resulted in migrants being forced to vacate the hostels and compete with local residents for informal jobs (Kirshner 2012: 1313). This mobility and competition for resources fuelled tension between the migrants and local residents. The author notes that Mozambican men sought to blend in as South Africans as they had learnt the local language; however, this caused further resentment (Kirshner 2012:1314). This supports Adida's (2014) argument highlighted in Chapter two, that in most African countries, assimilation does not always enable migrants to integrate but often perpetuates xenophobia.

Adida used case studies of two Nigerian migrants in Ghana; Mary, a female who had assimilated into Ghanaian culture and Sulaiman, who had not assimilated, to explain why assimilated migrants experience exclusion (Adida 2014). With the implementation of exclusive migration policy, Mary experienced hostility from members of the host community while the reverse was the case for Sulaiman. Adida attributes this to the advantages enjoyed

by assimilated migrants which enable them to develop networks and accrue social benefits usually reserved for members of host communities due to the cultural overlay (2014: 4). This was also the case in the past in Khutsong. However, the situation in Khutsong changed during the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Rather than join the widespread xenophobic attacks around the town, the community rejected xenophobia and “conveyed the idea that living with difference could strengthen their community” (Kirshner 2012: 1313). One of the explanations provided for this was the common drive for development that superseded differences. The author adds that protests against the national government’s poor service delivery brought migrants and members of the host community together (Kirshner 2012: 1313). It was on this basis that social differences were overcome and through bridging social capital migrants and members of the host community developed convivial ties. The locals realised that group differentiation and excluding migrants “could divide and side-track the movement...As the protest spread, protection (against xenophobia) was allegedly offered in exchange for support” (Kirshner 2012: 1314). Simply put, the interdependence of migrants and the host community caused them to negotiate spaces of interaction and the development of ties that will be of mutual benefit. This is a typical example of conviviality. According to Brudvig (2013: 9), “conviviality emerges through the formation of tactical alliances, as they are often crafted out of mutual need – a reciprocity that holds great value in the context of urban anonymity.”

The effect of conviviality was the creation of networks which cut across diversities. Kirshner (2012: 1314) described this as “network power”. It enabled the formation of social ties and networks that were originally formed through marriage and friendships, and which created an enabling environment for migrants’ integration. For instance, Khutsong is home to many Mozambican immigrants who integrated socially into the community through marrying women from the area and becoming fluent in isiZulu and Tswana, the languages of the host community (Kirshner 2012: 1323). In this case, the migrants’ assimilation was not resented by the host community because of the development of conviviality between the two groups.

4.5. Conclusion

In summary, network analysis is insightful in the study of everyday relationships between migrants and their hosts as it captures the detailed forms of interaction at personal level. The nature of network ties between immigrants and members of the host community is usually

dynamic. The development of social networks is not a given; various factors can encourage or impede the formation of network ties, including class, duration of stay, gender, culture and nationality. Furthermore, as illustrated by Dominguez and Maya-Jariego (2008), the relationship between migrants and their hosts is not one-sided but can lead to hybridity. Frequent and sustained contact with immigrants can also lead to a cultural mix and foster integration as shown in the study where HSP that had more intense contacts with immigrants not only included them in the state type or personal networks, but also adopted some aspects of their cultures. Finally, conviviality fosters the creation of network ties between migrants and members of the host community because it enables them to negotiate common ground for interaction that supersedes their differences.

This chapter assessed four case studies on migrants' network ties. It showed that, irrespective of their differences, migrants develop ties with members of the host community. The following chapter focuses on the relationship between African migrants and South Africans. It reviews various studies on intergroup contact between Nigerian migrants and South Africans that highlight divergent responses, ranging from xenophobia to conviviality on the part of the latter towards the former.

CHAPTER 5: AN OVERVIEW OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICANS AND AFRICAN MIGRANTS

Many studies on the nature of the relationship between African migrants and South Africans have emphasized hostility and xenophobia (see Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Crush 2008; Landau 2004, 2011 and 2014; Matsinhe 2011; and Crush et al 2014). This is not out of place considering that African migrants have indeed been at the receiving end of repeated xenophobic attitudes and behaviours which have sometimes degenerated into violence. While these studies have contributed to knowledge on the xenophobic actions of some South Africans, this study aims to provide another viewpoint, that irrespective of the hostile relationship between African migrants and South Africans, social networks have evolved out of conviviality and entanglement. As Tafira (2011) rightly argues, xenophobia does not fully explain the nature of the relationships between African migrants and South Africans. Flowing from this standpoint, this chapter begins by discussing migration into post-apartheid South Africa, while later subsections set out different arguments on the factors that fuel hostile relations between African migrants and South Africans. The final subsection examines studies that show that other spaces of interaction based on conviviality exist alongside hostility and xenophobia.

5.1. Contextual review of African immigration to South Africa since 1994

During the oppressive apartheid years, the Aliens Control Act of 1963 was the legislative and policy instrument used to regulate immigration into South Africa. As the name suggests, it was effectively used to control the entry of foreigners, especially Africans, into the country. According to Crush (2008), this Act was a blatant and unashamed instrument of white racial domination or supremacy. For example, Section 4 (1) stated that a person could only immigrate to South Africa if that person's life habits were suited to the requirements of South Africa. As Khan contends, "the official definition of an immigrant was therefore that he or she had to be able to be assimilated into the white population", implicitly meaning that "Africans were not considered for immigration" (Khan, 2007: 2). However, mine and farm workers from neighbouring states such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe were allowed to enter South Africa solely as undocumented migrant labourers with severe human rights restrictions (see Adepoju 1988; Khan 2007; Zlotnik 2003).

According to Isike and Isike (2012), since the advent of democracy in 1994, immigration policy has changed from one of selective restriction that was racialized to one of guided accommodation that is non-racialized. This is so because although post-1994 immigration policy and practice is open to and accommodative of anyone who can contribute to developing the new South Africa, it is a guided accommodation as it only encourages skilled workers, capital-owning entrepreneurs and wealthy retirees to emigrate to the country. Like its predecessor and its amendments, the Immigration Act, No.13 of 2002 and the Immigration Amendment Act, No.13 of 2013, the Immigration Regulations 2014 aim to regulate mobility as well as maximise the benefits of migration. The Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba, stated that the aim of the new immigration policy is to balance migration's contribution to the economic development of the country and the need for improved security (Carol Paton, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March 2016).

According to Khan (2007: 4),

Generally, immigrants who are in a position to contribute to the broadening of South Africa's economic base are welcomed to apply for residence. Similarly applications by skilled workers in occupations for which there is a shortage in the country are encouraged but particularly applications by industrialist and other entrepreneurs who wish to relocate their existing businesses or establish new concerns in South Africa. Anybody who intends to retire in South Africa may do so if they can show a Net worth of an amount to be determined by the Minister of Home Affairs.

Unlike the apartheid Aliens Control Act, the Immigration Regulations 2014 do not preclude temporary visitors in various categories. However, in many ways, they exclude some classes of people from living in South Africa, including unskilled workers, and petty traders with little or no start-up capital, by imposing stringent immigration procedures. Carol Paton (*Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March 2016) explains that the process of obtaining visas to enter the country and the punitive measures for violating these laws are extremely harsh. However, it is clear that the end of apartheid not only signalled the end of an oppressive era and the dawn of democracy; it also meant the opening up of South Africa's borders to mainly skilled migrants from the continent. This has resulted in a large influx of legal and illegal African immigrants seeking a better life.

Indeed, African migration to South Africa since 1994 has remained an economic survival strategy used by members of poor households in Southern African countries (see Adepoju 2006). Different statistics are available on the migration stock in South Africa. Crush et al (2014) maintain that the figures are often exaggerated as migrants add up to only 3.2% of the total population. Ngwenya (2010) notes that, between 2000 and 2009, Zimbabwe overtook Mozambique as the country with the highest number of migrants from the SADC region as shown in table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Migrant stock of top sending African countries to South Africa

Country	Migrant stock
Ghana***	208,226
Ivory Coast**	24,849
Malawi	10,662
Mozambique*	269,918
Swaziland	80,593
Zimbabwe*	5,109,084

Source: Ngwenya, 2010: 15

* Represents countries with the highest migrant stock

** Represents countries that fall outside the SADC region

*** Represents countries with the highest migrant stock that fall outside of SADC

From outside SADC, Ghana and Ivory Coast show a relatively strong presence in post-1994 African migration flows to South Africa. Others countries in this category that are not listed in the table include Cameroun, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritius, Nigeria and Tanzania. Together, they present a new pattern of African immigration characterized by a “large scale and diversity of origins of present-day immigrants, bringing their skills, enterprise and drive, and eager to explore prospects in Africa’s most buoyant economy” (Adepoju 2006: 40). It is difficult to provide an exact figure for the migrant stock in South Africa because of the clandestine nature of migration. However, a recent projection by Statistics SA (2015) is set out in the table below:

Table 5.2: International migration assumptions for the period 1985–2015

Year	African	Indian/Asian	White
1986–2000	828 750	14 476	-304 112
2001–2006	561 398	23 335	-133 782
2006–2011	673 706	34 689	-112 046
2011–2016	779 593	40 929	-95 158

Source: Statistics SA (2015)

Table 5.2 above shows that the African immigration stock is far higher than immigration stocks from other parts of the world combined. There are various drivers of African migration to post-apartheid South Africa. The International Organization for Migration (2010) identifies three main factors, namely, economic, social, and political issues. This is also the case in patterns of African migration to South Africa. One such motivation is the search for better economic opportunities. Ngwenya (2010: 11) acknowledges that the economic strength of South Africa compared to other economies on the continent is a major driver of African migration to the country (Ngwenya 2010: 11). Nkai's (2003) study of Zimbabwean women notes that economic constraints in Zimbabwe, coupled with potential economic opportunities in South Africa, were major factors that encouraged their immigration to South Africa. The political crises that have plagued the continent and the political climate in South Africa make it an attractive destination. Tendai Marima (*Daily Vox*, 5 May 2015) noted that more than a million Zimbabweans had immigrated to South Africa to seek asylum for reasons which mainly revolve around political instability and armed conflict at home. The majority of the sample (53%) in Kalitanyi and Visser's (2010: 384) sample of African migrants identified political instability and civil war in their home country as their reason for migrating to South Africa. The sending countries identified by Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) include the DRC, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe. For their part, Isike and Isike (2012: 94) argue that

African immigration to South Africa has increased not only through the regular immigration of skilled professionals and other economic migrants from distressed economies, but also, through refugees fleeing conflicts areas

such as Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

Finally, social issues make South Africa an attractive host country. Kalitanyi and Visser (2010: 383) identify these social issues as marriage, study, and adventure. Dodson (1998) explains that most female Africans migrate to South Africa to join their male partners, making marriage one of the social drivers of migration to the country. Tati (2010: 287) adds that study is another social motivation for African migration to South Africa. Therefore, these economic, political and social factors are the major drivers of migration to South Africa. Within this context and given the focus of this study, what are the patterns of Nigerian migration to South Africa?

5.1.1. Patterns of Nigerian migration to South Africa after 1994

South Africa was a destination country for Nigerian migrants even before the end of apartheid. Morris (1998) states that Nigerian immigrants first came to South Africa in 1993 to seek employment and study in the country. After the end of apartheid this movement continued and increased with other factors beyond employment and study driving it. According to Adeagbo (2011), these include political and religious crises as well as insecurity in Nigeria. Indeed, political instability and religious tensions have been major contributing factors to increased emigration from Nigeria to South Africa. The UNHCR estimates that between 1996 and 2005, the South African government resettled about 14,107 Nigerian asylum seekers (Mberu and Pongou 2010: n.p.).

Due to the sometimes clandestine nature of migration, it is difficult to accurately estimate the number of Nigerian migrants in South Africa. The 2001 South African Census estimated this number at 7,172 with the majority domiciled in Gauteng Province (Segatti et al 2012: 2). It increased substantially over a period of 10 years; Segatti et al (2012) state that between 2004 and 2010, approximately 36,000 Nigerian migrants migrated to South Africa each year. A more recent study by Statistics SA (2015) on African immigration trends shows that Nigeria was the second leading country in terms of the number of recipients of temporary residence permits in 2015 (Statistics SA 2015). People from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and India were granted 47.8% of all visitors' visas. Fifty-four per cent of relative's permits were granted to four countries, two being Africa countries (Nigeria and Zimbabwe) (Ibid), while 64% of

permanent residence permits were granted to African countries, with Nigeria a leading country in this group (Statistics SA 2015). Among the top ten countries in terms of permanent residence permits, only two were African countries. These include Zimbabwe which was the highest at 36.2% and Nigeria in fifth position with 4.2%. These statistics clearly show that there is a strong flow of migration from Nigeria to South Africa and this further justifies focusing on Nigeria in this context.

Nigerian migrants are mainly resident in Gauteng Province (Adeagbo 2013). However, there is a substantial number in other provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape (Segatti et al 2012: 3). Segatti et al describe the demographic profile of Nigerian migrants as a “primarily male population of small scale entrepreneurs, highly to medium skilled workers, students and dependents... In 2003, female migrants represented just over 7% of Nigerians” (Segatti et al 2012: 3). Therefore, the pattern of migration shows that there are more male than female Nigerian migrants.

An important point to note about Nigerian migrants’ relationships with South Africans is that the former have been generally stereotyped as criminals involved in illegal activities such as drug peddling and prostitution (Adeagbo 2013: 278). Martins Ifijeh (*This Day Live*, 22 April 2015) elaborates that some South Africans perceive Nigerian migrants as “perpetrators of crimes like robbery, rape, gang fighting, drug trafficking, among others in their communities”. Crush et al (2014) observe that Nigerian migrants are deeply loathed by South Africans. However, studies such as that of Isike (2012) have shown that there are also Nigerian migrants who have contributed to the development of South Africa such that Nigerian doctors are working legally in all the country’s provinces and every university in South Africa has at least one Nigerian professor as well as lecturers. Segatti et al (2012: 6) note that “although the vast majority of Nigerian migrants are not involved in crime, there are associations of some Nigerian nationals with crime syndicates and counterfeit goods and drug trafficking.” This has negatively influenced how Nigerians are perceived and related to by South Africans.

5.2. African migration and socio-economic inequalities in South Africa

South Africa’s relatively strong economy has been cited as a pull-factor for African immigrants. However, buoyant as the South African economy is compared to other

economies on the continent, the country suffers from poverty and socio-economic inequalities inherited from apartheid. Burns (2012: 8) notes that about 50% of the population of South Africa lives in poverty. Steenkamp (2009: 443) adds that despite the demise of apartheid and economic growth, the quality of life of the majority of South Africans has not changed for the better.

Scholars have argued that socio-economic inequalities and high poverty rates have shaped the hostile nature of relationships between African migrants and South Africans (see Crush et al 2014; Achiume 2014; CoRMSA 2009; Crush 2008; Laher, 2008; and McKnight 2008). At the time of Landau's (2011: 11) study, South Africa was rated the tenth most unequal country in the world, coupled with an increasing poverty rate. A more recent study by APRM (2014: 28) states that although poverty rate has reduced, South Africa is still one of the most inequitable countries in the world. Laher (2008: 14) contends that high levels of African migration have not only led to competition for resources but to African immigrants being blamed as the cause of the problem, which in itself sets the stage for xenophobia. To further explain how economic inequalities instigate xenophobia in South Africa, scholars have employed the deprivation theory and scapegoat analysis. These notions are different but interconnected. For example, Tshitereke (1999: 4) notes that, "people often create a frustration-scapegoat to blame for on-going deprivation and poverty". Within this context, migrants easily become scapegoats, because they are perceived as threats to jobs and as the cause of crime and raise fears of the erosion of South Africans' cultural values (Landau 2011; and Misago 2011). According to Landau, African migration "came to be seen as an existential threat to South Africa's collective transformation and renaissance" (Landau 2011:1). It is clear that economic gaps lead to social gaps which create prejudice against those in the out-group because when there is a gap between aspirations and reality, social discontent is likely to result⁶. Vulnerable groups such as foreigners bear the brunt of such social discontent, sometimes in violent ways.

In the South African context, African immigrants have borne the brunt of social discontent arising from economic inequalities in the country, and this is an important factor that defines the hostile relationship between them and South Africans. The multiple incidences of

⁶ For example, De la Rey (1991: 41) notes that a key psychological factor in generating social unrest is a sense of relative deprivation. This arises from a subjective feeling of discontent based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to.

xenophobic violence perpetrated by South Africans against African immigrants between 1994 and 2015 are reflective of the sometimes hostile relationships between these groups. A study by the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA 2009: 27) showed that South Africans feel threatened by the presence of African migrants because of limited social opportunities and services such as employment, shelter and health care, which they now have to share with the migrants. A Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) study in 1999 found that a large number of South Africans who participated in the study were opposed to the inclusion of non-nationals in order to prevent them from gaining access to basic rights (Crush 2008: 27). Forty-eight per cent of the South African study participants perceived migrants as perpetrators of crime, 37% saw them as a threat to job opportunities and people that threaten economic space, and 29% saw them as a potential threat to health (Crush 2008: 28). According to Crush, such perceptions fuel the hostility that has come to characterize relations between migrants and South Africans, and while they are framed as an attempt to prevent African migrants from accessing socio-economic opportunities and services⁷, they also prevent their integration into society. Segale (2004: 50) observes that xenophobia has become a major impediment to African migrants' integration in South Africa.

5.3. Some contending perspectives on xenophobia

Given the post-apartheid influx of African immigrants into a country with serious socio-economic challenges of its own, it is easy to see why some South Africans have responded in an unwelcoming manner. Scholars have explained xenophobia against African immigrants in South Africa from different contending perspectives. These include post-apartheid nation-building arguments; the isolation hypothesis; xenophobia as a product of racial oppression during apartheid which led to a fear of the *other* and the lack of social trust between South Africans and African immigrants. Each of these perspectives is discussed in order to provide a broader understanding of conviviality and entanglement of relations between the two groups. It is important to explore this context so as to show how African migrants and host members negotiate spaces within these hostilities in order to develop hospitable and tolerable

⁷ For example, Crush (2008) contends that South Africans' xenophobic tendencies are not necessarily driven by hatred, but by fear and the need to protect their territory from socio-economic appropriation by African migrants (Crush 2008: 27). Similarly, Achiume (2014: n.p.) argues that "perpetrators of xenophobic discrimination justify their actions as legitimate attempts to exclude foreigners perceived as a direct threat to the wellbeing of citizens".

relationships. Landau (2014: 360) captures this in his study of urban estuaries in Johannesburg, Nairobi and Maputo, where he argues that “novel modes of accommodation are emerging, double helix-like, with ever-evolving forms of social, economic, political exclusion.” He explains that various economic factors like conflict and poverty have motivated movement in and out of these cities. Urban spaces “are now becoming nodes in national and diasporic networks of social and economic exchange” (Landau 2014: 361). He argues that this exchange, coupled with the “absence of muscular state institutions and dominant culture” has made the demarcation between guest and host fluid (Landau 2014: 359). This has led to varied responses to migrants which range from exclusion to accommodation (ibid).

The post-apartheid nation-building perspective argues that the state plays a role in the nature and characteristics of relations between African migrants and South Africans (see Harris 2002; and Kersting 2009). In essence, it argues that one of the main reasons why African migrants have not integrated into South African society is the nature of the nation-building discourse and praxis. One aspect of the post-apartheid nation-building perspective on the xenophobic nature of relations between South Africans and African immigrants is that the actions and inactions of the post-apartheid state in its nation-building process fuel and sustain xenophobia. It argues that the state adopted contradictory policies that ironically supported globalization outside the continent and glocalization⁸ within its political boundaries. McKinley (2008) paints a clearer picture of this argument when he argues that post-apartheid South Africa has a contradictory policy towards Africans that is driven by its imperialist and nation-building ventures, which invariably perpetuate xenophobic tendencies. According to him, within South Africa, the government uses “South African nationality as the litmus test for social acceptance and integration of those who have, not surprisingly, made their way to the new South Africa” whereas, outside the country, it advocates for a united Africa (McKinley 2008: 24). African immigrants are therefore branded as a problem to the development of the country, and this has led to resentment of immigrants, hindering their integration into their host communities. Landau (2004: 2) argues that

⁸ Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2002) describe glocalization as the contradiction of countries implementing policies that enable them to benefit from globalization while also implementing policies that close citizenship to the rest of the world. According to them, when countries open their economies to the world, they invariably open up citizenship as well. This is often then perceived as a threat which makes the natives or residents pressure their governments to embrace closed citizenship.

as politicians and business leaders applaud South Africa's new cosmopolitanism, conflicts over rights to space, services and livelihoods have surfaced as South Africans and African immigrants converge on the streets of previously "forbidden cities". Encouraged by presumed links between a significant foreigner presence and many of the country's social ills – disease, unemployment, and crime – South Africans are increasingly invoking nationalist rhetoric in their efforts to resolve these disputes.

Indeed, the state has "treated African immigrants as if they were, *a priori*, criminals and charlatans intent on destroying the imagined 'national community' of 'authentic' South Africans" (McKinley 2008: 23).

A second aspect of the nation-building perspective relates to the type of nationalism formed after the demise of apartheid. This argues that the post-apartheid state attempted to create a sense of national identity that included all South Africans and unavoidably excluded African migrants, setting the stage for xenophobia (see Harris 2002; Valji 2003; and Neocosmos 2008). In this way xenophobia is a form of nationalism and it is explained as an attitude aimed at protecting the homogeneity of South Africans by opposing the potential disruptions different African migrant groups could bring. For example, Harris (2002) explains that nationalism was one of the motivations for the May 2008 violence against African immigrants. Harris (2002) provides an intriguing explanation for why xenophobia is a defining feature of relations between South Africans and African immigrants. He argues that after the demise of apartheid, the new South Africa implemented policies aimed at creating a rainbow nation which was meant to overcome racism and segregation; two major legacies of apartheid. Creating such a nation involved fostering a sense of common identity among South Africans that unified them as a nation. In order to create this ideal rainbow nation, a new type of nationalism evolved which was also xenophobic and nationalist in character (Harris 2002: 180).

Scholars have also argued that this type of nationalism is based on a notion of exceptionalism. Exceptionalism is an ideology that creates a sense of difference and superiority in relationship to others, in the context of this study, between African immigrants and their South African host community. Neocosmos expands this thinking further when he argues that,

there is a hegemonic notion of exceptionalism in South African public culture (maintained by all, not only Whites). The prevalent idea here is that the country is not really a part of Africa and that its intellectual and cultural frame of reference is the United States and Europe... Africa is seen as the place of the other... It is not a continent to which we really belong, only a place to be acted upon (2008: 591).

A good example of exceptionalism was a statement made by President Zuma in 2013 while trying to convince Johannesburg motorists to accept the payment of e-tolls. The government introduced an e-toll system for road users in Gauteng Province in 2013 (Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project 2014). Residents of Johannesburg, civil society and labour strongly opposed its implementation (Samuels Simone, *Sandton Chronicle*, 29 July 2014). Government tried to persuade them otherwise and in one such attempt, the President commented in a public forum that Johannesburg roads are not some national roads in Malawi or other parts of Africa with sub-standard infrastructure; therefore South Africans must be prepared to pay e-tolls in order to enjoy good quality roads in Gauteng (Adrian Ephraim, *Mail and Guardian*, 22 Oct 2013). Valji (2003) explained how the ideal of a rainbow nation based on the notion of exceptionalism was achieved by forging a new sense of a South African identity based on the common victimhood of apartheid. According to him, in order to unify a racially divided community, there was a need to create a sense of unity and community of being South African. To achieve this, the unifying ideology of victimhood needed to be imbibed by all South Africans irrespective of whether they had been a perpetrator or victim of apartheid (Valji 2003: 4). In essence, supporters of this school of thought (Neocosmos 2008; Valji 2003; and Harris 2002) argue that in creating a homogeneous nationalist identity among South Africans which aimed to eradicate existing racial differences and address the effects of apartheid, a new form of discrimination against African migrants based on indigeneity was invented.

Furthermore, the post-apartheid nation-building thesis argues that although the struggle against apartheid was supported by pan-Africanism⁹, nation-building after apartheid became

⁹ Pan-Africanism is an ideology that upholds African consciousness and identity and aims to unite all those of African descent. It involves the conscious “acceptance of a oneness of all people of African descent and the

xenophobic towards African migrants (Neocosmos 2006; Makky 2007). Neocosmos maintains that “many foreigners were directly involved in the liberation of the country; and also given the integration of the Southern African region, many South Africans, including many of those in the leadership positions, are of foreign origin” (2006: 5). The nationalism that existed during the struggle was thus an inclusive one, irrespective of ethnicity or country of origin. It was not founded on autochthony but on black consciousness brought about by the evils of apartheid. Therefore, many Africans expected that the process of nation-building would be founded on the same pan-Africanist nationalism, which ironically was not the case (see Valji 2003; Neocosmos 2006; and Thakur 2011). For instance, Neocosmos argues that the new South Africa developed a new type of nationalism that called for other Africans to be excluded from citizenship status as they were now seen as a threat to the new nation (2006: 5). Kersting distinguishes between two variants of nationalism, the old nationalism that united all Africans and the new nationalism that saw the othering of Africans into first and second class citizens (2009: 16 - 17). For Valji (2003: 3), one of the consequences of this new nationalism was “... a new and united South African identity – one which attempted to create a de-racialised and homogeneous internal entity, and by doing so contrasted it to a constructed threat of ‘difference’ from outside...”. In sum, exceptionalism influenced the creation of a national identity among South Africans which was described as “positively un-African” (Thakur, 2011: n.p.). Thakur uses the term un-African to connote a progressive African race that is not as backward as the rest of the continent and has evolved into a novel type of Africanness that is based on an imagined difference. For him, it is an identity that is peculiar to South Africans, who are Africans but have chosen to believe they have an African identity that is superior to and distinct from the rest of the continent.

In terms of the limitations of the nation-building perspective, it should be noted that the assumption that the nation-building process satisfied the need to create a united, homogeneous community that was previously racially divided has some limitations. This thinking assumes that the type of nationalism that evolved after apartheid homogenized South Africans and inevitably led to the exclusion of African migrants who were perceived as different. The assumption is problematic in that, firstly, post-apartheid South Africa is not a homogenous community. According to Van Krieken (2012), the assumption that host

commitment to the betterment of all people of African descent” (Ofuately-Kodjoe 1986: 388). This ideal was a driving force of anti-apartheid movements within and outside Africa during apartheid.

communities are ideally homogeneous does not reflect reality. He adds that it is fallacious to assume that a host society is “an already integrated part of the society” without taking into cognizance that “the social fabric, structure and dynamics of a society need to have at least something to say about the lines of conflict which divide it...”. Bauman (2001: 2-3) further explains that people’s conception of an ideal community is one which is problem free or “paradise lost”, when in reality an integrated, homogenous, problem-free society does not exist. Tafira (2011) maintains that the xenophobic discourse only tells one part (perhaps a large chunk) of the story between African migrants and South Africans. Therefore, the notion of using one brush to paint African migrants’ integration in South Africa as xenophobic, without taking into account the socio-cultural and economic diversity of the country limits out understanding of these relations as South Africa is a diverse country not only racially but economically, socially and geographically.

Secondly, the thesis on nation-building and nationalism contends that the anti-African character of the nationalism that evolved after apartheid is in sharp contrast to the pan-Africanist nationalism which united all Africans against apartheid (see Valji 2003; Neocosmos 2006; Kersting 2009; and Thakur 2011). There were also instances of divides within African groups during the fight against apartheid. Tshabalala (2001) notes that many black South Africans, including African immigrants, were killed during the deadly violence that erupted in KwaZulu-Natal in the conflict between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) in the transition from apartheid to democracy (1990 to 1993). According to Tshabalala, 92% of these killings were Africans killing Africans. Again, it would be a generalization to paint all Africans with one brush of pan-Africanism. For example, a study by SAMP (2008) notes that prior to the demise of apartheid there were instances of xenophobia by black South Africans towards African migrants. Landau (2011) also observes that xenophobia existed long before the demise of apartheid. If the pan-Africanist nationalism thesis is correct, how does one explain this? Clearly, a picture that depicts a pan-Africanist nationalism that is non-conflictual and a united black race united against apartheid is idealized and therefore does not fully explain the nature of the relationships between African migrants and South Africans.

A second perspective on the xenophobic nature of relations between African immigrants and South Africans is the isolation hypothesis. This posits that South Africans' seclusion from other African countries during apartheid fuelled xenophobic tendencies towards them. It argues that xenophobia towards African immigrants is a result of fear of unknown strangers who are perceived as different. According to Harris (2002: 173),

foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up and the country has become integrated into the international community. This has brought South Africans into direct contact with the unknown, with foreigners. ...the interface between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners creates a space for hostility to develop: When a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming.

This hypothesis traces the fear of unknown strangers to apartheid pass laws which restricted the internal movement of black South Africans. In so doing, it captures the nature of the hostile relationship between some black South Africans and African immigrants today. This line of thought argues that apartheid was about creating boundaries, not just geographic but socio-cultural boundaries which still exist today. The demise of apartheid only led to the removal of oppressive and selective geographical boundaries that are still unwelcoming to everyone as some immigrants still enter South Africa illegally. The socio-cultural boundary still exists and this fuels xenophobia. Harris (2002) and Morris (1998) relate how these boundaries isolated South Africans not just from the continent but from Africans within, resulting in xenophobia. Harris (2002: 173) explains the dual effects of isolation. He notes that, the international isolation of South Africans from the African continent led to the internal isolation of South Africans from African migrants. As perhaps an unintended consequence, it also isolated black South Africans from themselves with implications for intra-group relations. Morris agrees that "the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of difference" (1998: 1125). Indeed, a group not accustomed to hosting people of different backgrounds that has no history of integrating people into their community would have difficulties accepting and integrating strangers (Morris 1998: 1125).

Graf (2011: 21) agrees that the “isolation hypothesis is wedded to the discourse of exceptionalism..., which is rooted in the belief of South Africans that they are different from the rest of Africa”. Thakur (2011) explains the link between apartheid isolation, exceptionalism and xenophobia thus:

the migrants, who seem to be fleeing in ‘hordes’, like animals, into ‘Fortress South Africa’ bring the African curse onto a ‘relatively developed’, ‘progressive’, democratic’, in short un-African, South Africa. A specific stress on the word ‘un-African’ since it is different from ‘non-African’. Non-African shows not belonging, while un-African shows a belonging but having moved ahead. It shows a particular accent on having internalized the modernity debate by exhibiting South Africa’s advancement from tradition to modernity, barbarism to civilization, bestiality to humanity, and poverty to affluence.

Thakur’s argument presents the ‘Africanness’ of being South African as different from the “Africanness” of Africans within the continent which causes hostile relations between African migrants and South Africans. Flowing from the various threads of arguments, the relationship between South Africans and African immigrants is defined by the notion of superiority of difference, where the “Africanness” of the host community is perceived to be better than that of the continent, and only comparable to the civilization of the developed world. This superiority of difference that is traced to South Africa’s previous isolation from the rest of Africa, leads to exclusion and xenophobia which hinder integration.

It could be inferred from the isolation hypothesis that since South Africans were not exposed to Africans from the continent, it is easy to *other* migrants as strangers. However, this cannot be true because both before and during the apartheid period, history records sufficient engagement of South Africans with the continent. Apart from the great migration movements of yore, throughout the apartheid years Africans from within the Southern African sub-region worked in South Africa. Maharaj (2004) notes that African migrants were not unknown or strange to South Africans but worked with them on the farms and mines before apartheid and were also involved in the struggle against apartheid. In addition, the records show that these migrants integrated into communities as there were instances of intermarriage and children were born, producing a hybrid generation of African migrants and South Africans (Steenkamp 2014: 109 – 110).

The third perspective considered is the view that xenophobia is a product of the absence of social trust between South Africans and African immigrants. Steenkamp (2009) explains that it is not the fear of the *other* or fear of difference that discourages the development of ties and relationships but rather the absence of trust between the two groups. Social trust is commonly used to describe relationships and networks. Fu (2004: 3) explains that trust is present in various formal and informal relationships “such as within family, between and among friends, and colleagues, with organizations and institutions.” Scholars have argued that social trust influences relationships among members of various communities. Steenkamp posits that there is a low level of social trust in South Africa which has influenced the nature of relationships between South Africans and African migrants. For her, this is not unconnected with the apartheid isolation of black South Africans from the rest of the continent, leaving them with little or no history of relationships from which trust can be built. She contends that “the events of May 2008 exposed the persistence of high levels of distrust in South African society, especially between black Africans... This bodes unwell for democratic consolidation and socio-economic development” (Steenkamp 2009: 440). She argues that this culture is inherent in social and political institutions. Steenkamp (2009: 441) adds that antagonism and hostility by South Africans towards African immigrants existed long before the May 2008 attacks as it “was already embedded in social life and official political discourse”. Mazars et al (2013: 6) observe that a major characteristics of African migrants’ networks in South Africa is that they are mostly “mono-cultural”, that is, ties are usually formed with fellow migrants due to a lack of social trust. Therefore, the basis of this argument is that a lack of social trust among African migrants and South Africans negatively influences the formation of social networks because when there are very low levels of empathy and cooperation, it is expected that there will be minimal ties and interaction.

However, the lack of trust between African migrants and South Africans does not explain the relations and networks between the two groups which other studies have shown existed during apartheid and continue post-apartheid, which can only be sustained by trust. For example, there are records of intermarriage, hybridity and cosmopolitanism between these two groups (see Adeagbo 2013; Isike and Isike 2012; Kirshner 2012; and Steinberg 2014).

These relationships could only have developed as a result of the presence of social trust due to social bridging capital.

The fourth perspective considered on South African xenophobia against African immigrants is that xenophobia is a product of racial oppression during apartheid (Landau 2004; and McKnight 2008). One of the many studies that advance this argument is that of McKnight (2008: 21) who states that after the demise of apartheid, xenophobia evolved from the “divide between white and black South Africans” to one between citizens and foreigners, based not on skin colour but on nationality. This school of thought argues that past segregation laws and practice created xenophobia as they culturally inclined South Africans to social division and exclusion. Apartheid policies, which propagated the exclusion of blacks from certain privileges and reserved them for whites, created a culture of exclusion based on race. The apartheid system of exclusion was biologically defined; people’s racial features were used as markers of racial categorization. Scholars such as Matsinhe (2011) argue that this categorization is the genesis of xenophobia, and like its predecessor, apartheid, it is also exclusively applied to Africans, in this case immigrants from the continent. He regards the notion of *Amakwerekwere*¹⁰ in South Africa is a fantasy of the foreign body which has its origins in the psychosocial dynamics of colonial group relations in South Africa, and which today informs the nature of relations between South Africans and African foreign nationals in the country (Matsinhe 2011: 302). In this way, deviation from bodily ideals of integration or conformity to fantasies of strangeness warrant strip searches, arrest, detention, deportation, humiliation, torture, rape, mugging and killing of the so-called African foreigner in South Africa. Matsinhe explains how looks (body size and configuration)¹¹, performances (language, accent and sound patterns such as clicks) and body smells¹² are used as signifiers of non-South African nativity and a yardstick for exclusion. For instance, Morris explains that South Africans categorize Congolese, Nigerians and other African migrants as different through their accents and inability to communicate in any of the local languages (1998: 1125). These signifiers are used as markers of group as well as

¹⁰ A derogatory word used by South Africans to label African migrants

¹¹South Africans imagine that African foreigners are different from them because they have big noses, big lips and round heads.... they are ‘too dark’ or ‘too black’; they dress funny, walk in certain different ways and have inoculation marks (Matsinhe 2011:303).

¹² African foreigners are imagined as primitives who emit foul body odours. For example, it is documented that the South African Police Service use sniffing methods to identify their suspects and victims (usually illegal African foreigners) because they believe these foreigners smell terrible (see Harris 2002; and Matsinhe 2011).

individual identity, mediating the “us and them” differentiation between host members and foreigners perceived as aliens (Matsinhe, 2011: 306).

Various scholars have thus described xenophobia as a “new racism” based on other identity markers. Misago (2011) states that various cases of xenophobic attacks against African migrants in the townships and informal settlements show that xenophobia is racialized. Adjai and Lazaridis (2013: 192) explain that,

unlike *old racism* which is based on discriminatory treatment at the hands of a race (a biological group) different to one’s own, xenophobia can be linked to *new racism* which is based on the discriminatory treatment of the “other”, on the basis of the other’s national origin or ethnicity. New racism is a shift in racism, from notions of biological superiority, to exclusion based on cultural and national difference... It dispenses with the notion of superiority and instead the focal point is difference. ...The proponents of new racism claim that they are not being racist or prejudiced, nor are they making any value judgments about the “others”, but simply recognising that they (the others) are different.

From the perspective of Adjai and Lazaridis (2013), the experience of old racism based on racial differences gave birth to new racism based on national identity and ethnicity and these differences hinder the integration and inclusion of African migrants. For Matsinhe, this is a manifestation of the narcissism of minor differences¹³ caused by the colonial and apartheid creation of the South African social unconscious¹⁴ and of the social habitus that goes with it (Matsinhe, 2011). He explains that the dynamics of colonial group relations created power asymmetries between “established groups” (whites) and “outsider groups” (blacks) who were often culturally persecuted and economically deprived to the point of dehumanization. Over time, such asymmetries produce an inferiority syndrome in the weaker outsider group “wherein members of the [weaker group]... measure their personal and collective self-worth according to the social standards of the [stronger group]...” (Matsinhe 2011: 299). Members

¹³This is a Freudian term that is used to describe individual or group sensitivity to small differences between them and others like them. According to Hazell (2009: 97), such differences are highlighted to achieve a superficial sense of one's own uniqueness, a sense of otherness which is only a mask for an underlying uniformity and sameness.

¹⁴ Matsinhe summarizes the social unconscious as “the sum of prejudices, myths and collective attitudes of a given group; the stock of common sense knowledge and mundane methods of reasoning which structure people’s lives without necessarily being reflected upon” (see Matsinhe 2011: 300).

of the weaker group consequently develop self-contempt that often manifests in self-destructive behaviour, including contempt and destruction of those who resemble them the most (Matsinhe 2011: 299).

Scholars such as Harris (2014) have highlighted some of the weaknesses of Matsinhe's (2011) argument that xenophobia is a product of apartheid racial oppression. She states that the *Amakwerekwere* ideology presented by Matsinhe does not capture other factors that possibly explain hostility towards African migrants. In her words, Matsinhe (2011) "fails to consider and reject alternative explanations of, or other potential contributing factors to, the insider-outsider phenomenon. Societal responses and counter-responses are complex and by reducing xenophobia in South Africa to a single contributory factor is to oversimplify the issues" (Harris 2014: n.p.). She regards this argument as oversimplified and too narrow in explaining the complex relationship between the two groups. Other explanatory factors may include unemployment, poverty and crime. For example, all the reported outbreaks of xenophobic violence between 2008 and 2015 had a criminal character which can be associated with hunger. Those with xenophobic tendencies raided immigrants' shops and, in some instances, those belonging to South Africans as was reported in Durban during the April 2015 attacks. One thus wonders if hunger, fuelled by unemployment and poverty is not a driver of xenophobic violence which is almost always accompanied by looting. Indeed, Steinberg (2014) argues that apartheid instigated the exclusion of blacks from other races and ironically, created a sense of inclusion amongst them, irrespective of their country of origin. If this is the case, is it not ironic that a system which created a sense of homogeneity among blacks across country of origin is now being blamed for creating othering within itself? Steinberg (2014: 270) notes that migrants from Southern African countries integrated with local people, imbibed some of their cultures and married South African women. Therefore, understanding the relationships between African migrants and South African is complex and they should be explored critically in order to capture the web of relationships that go beyond hostility.

5.4. Looking beyond xenophobia

African immigrants have a long history of migrating to South Africa that predates 1994 and since then they have been arriving in large numbers. Many of these migrants have studied

and worked and successfully made a living for themselves and their families since 1994. The question then is: are there relations between African migrants and South Africans that are not primarily xenophobic? Some migrants have become permanent residents and others citizens. Many have married South Africans, raised children and established different types of networks with South Africans which continue to sustain their stay in South Africa in different ways. Unfortunately, these stories are often not told in mainstream media and are also neglected in the literature. As noted in Chapter two, the various responses to migration range from exclusion, to assimilation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, hybridity and entanglement and conviviality. South Africans have deployed all these strategies in responding to African immigration (see Adeagbo 2013; Isike and Isike 2012; and Kirshner 2012). Indeed, the dynamics of migration have evolved to the extent that the lines that demarcate insiders and outsiders are renegotiated.

One of the ways to capture this is to analyse migrants' integration through the development of conviviality and entanglement which foster the formation of social networks and a sense of belonging to the community which African migrants feel. Nyamnjoh (2011: 11) states that migrants "negotiate marginality through relationships (networks), often romantic, that might make them more accepted and engage in spaces of popular culture and conviviality." Although there is a paucity of literature on social networks and the integration of African migrants in the context of South Africa, one study that highlights this issue is Kirshner's (2012) which was described in the preceding chapter, while another is Brudvig's (2013) study in Bellville, a small mining town close to Cape Town. The author argues that rather than the exclusion and hostility that many African migrants face in South Africa, those in Bellville have experienced conviviality and tolerance. According to her, "Bellville is a place where economic interdependency, social networks and bonding and bridging social capital prove the resilience of migrants in the face of trends towards exclusion" (Brudvig 2013: 28). She further argues that this tolerance and hospitality is the result of physical space due to the economic interdependency and social capital that exist in Bellville (Brudvig 2013: 29). Economic interdependency is the result of the nature of economic practices in the area. The area is a well-known migration spot that thrives on the economic benefits provided to host members, like employment, skills and provision of services, while migrants are allowed to carry on their various businesses without xenophobic attacks (Brudvig 2013). This space

encourages increased contact and interaction with migrants which eliminates hostility and breeds conviviality. This supports the contact hypothesis, discussed in Chapter two, that posits that prejudice and hostility towards a group will eventually decrease when there is increased contact in public spaces (Grim et al 2005). However, scholars such as Amin (2002) argue that spaces of interaction should move beyond public spaces to micro public spaces where interactions are more frequent, long-lasting and unavoidable, as this would foster convivial interactions and the formation of ties among diverse peoples. According to Brudvig (2013), Bellville is a typical example of a micro public space that brews convivial relations between migrants and members of the host community. In her words, “business operations compel conviviality in Bellville... Groups work together not based on trust but on necessity” (Brudvig 2013: 38-39). The town’s migrants thus develop ties with members of the host communities that are convivial, that is, beyond the outsider and insider divide, and find a middle space for interaction in order to gain mutual benefits.

Another study by Adeagbo (2013) explains how Nigerian migrants in South Africa integrated into their host communities in Johannesburg. Marriage not only unites people but cultures. It is one of the indicators used to measure the level of migrants’ integration into the host society. She explains how marriage was a bridging tool between Nigerian migrants and South Africans:

the world is full of ethnic, racial and religious divisions and intermarriage between members of different groups can be seen as an indication that divisions are overcome... Intermarriage is considered to be a major pointer of overcoming social distance among groups and cohesion of societies. In other words, intermarriage has been argued to be a channel through which members of different groups relate and interact with one another (Adeagbo 2013: 1).

She does not deny the existence of xenophobic attitudes towards Nigerian migrants in South Africa or hostile attitudes on the part of Nigerians towards South Africans, but argues that inter-marriage entangles them in a web of social relations. Adeagbo (2013) argues that, in the initial stages of the union, Nigerian migrants experienced prejudice from the social networks of their South African spouses but due to increased contact, they changed their perceptions

and accepted them into the family. Therefore, marriage has enabled the creation of kinship between Nigerian migrants and South Africans, fostering their integration.

Apart from network ties which drive interaction between African immigrants and South African relationships and foster the integration of the former, South Africans have supported African immigrants in many ways. For example, in the thick of the xenophobic violence in 2008 and 2015, South Africans came out in large numbers to decry the violence and express support for African migrants to remain in the country¹⁵. Some community-based organisations assisted with food and shelter for the displaced while at the individual level, South Africans were also reported to have rescued, sheltered and protected African immigrants during the violence¹⁶. These acts of kindness are not completely disconnected from the networks and ties that both groups have developed and sustained over time in the course of their interaction. They underline the point that, alongside xenophobia and exclusion lie hospitality and tolerance in the study of relations between African immigrants and their South African hosts. Loren Landau (*Mail and Guardian*, 17 May 2013) cites an example in Bushbuckridge, a township where African migrants and South Africans coexist without discrimination and suspicion.

5.5. Conclusion

A summary of the mainstream literature on relations between South Africans and African immigrants reviewed in this chapter indicates that there is hostility which forecloses integration. It is argued that xenophobia, which has inhibited the integration of African immigrants is due to a myriad of factors including socio-economic inequalities, nation-building and nationalism as well as apartheid racism. The significance of the contending perspectives on xenophobia presented in this chapter is that xenophobia cannot be reduced to a single or simple explanation. They underscore the multi-faceted nature of this phenomenon. Indeed, as the literature suggests, the empirical findings of this study confirm that

¹⁵ For instance, following the 2015 xenophobia violence in KwaZulu-Natal, a solidarity march of more than 3,000 was led by the KwaZulu-Natal Premier and government officials at various municipal levels. Civil society representatives and ordinary citizens were also in attendance, and its significance was not blighted by an opposing march of more than 200 other South Africans who insisted on being anti-foreigners.

¹⁶ Thebe Ikalafeng, *The Sunday Independent* 13 April 2015. Although this is not a reliable reference source, social media was awash with personal stories of African immigrants who were assisted by South Africans during the crisis.

xenophobia is one of the many forms of interaction between African migrants and South Africans and should therefore be studied in all its facets. In thinking through and beyond xenophobia, the standpoint of this study is that there are also other forms of interaction between African immigrants and South Africans that are not xenophobic. In this way, the study situates experiences of xenophobia within a broad range of interactions which are both hostile and non-hostile. Although several authors have made this point, the literature is still not well-developed in this regard.

Broadening the investigation of African migrants and South Africans' relations entails bringing to the fore the networks and ties that are forged on a daily basis between these groups which in many cases are mutually beneficial. It also entails paying attention to individual and collective actions of South Africans in resisting xenophobia and providing support to displaced African immigrants.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1. Research design

A network study that investigates the relationship between African migrants and South Africans requires methodological flexibility to produce a nuanced understanding of this phenomenon. Bearing in mind its descriptive and exploratory nature, this study adopted a qualitative research approach to answer the key research questions outlined in Chapter one. Qualitative research is appropriate if, as is the case here, the purpose of the study is to “describe a situation, phenomenon, problem or event; the information... and if analysis is done to establish the variation in the situation, phenomenon or problem without quantifying it” (Kumar 1999: 10¹⁷). Although the study was mainly qualitative in nature, it also provides some descriptive quantitative information which is indicative rather than representative. This study is also exploratory as it provides novel insights and information on the research problem (Babbie and Mouton 2006: 80). However, it did not merely seek to describe the nature of relations between African migrants and South Africans. It also interpreted insights from the subjects of inquiry, bearing in mind the ontological and epistemological considerations that underlie qualitative research. For example, according to Schwandt (1998: 223), the ontological assumptions of social constructivism imply that reality is socially constructed by social actors and is understandable through interaction with these actors. This suggests that the meaningful properties of social reality can be comprehended through understanding social actors’ knowledge, views, interpretations and experiences of the social world. This is consistent with a qualitative approach which is essentially concerned with achieving meaning and interpretation from participants’ accounts, suggesting that meaning can be derived through “minimizing the interpersonal distance between the researcher and the participant” (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). For Vasilachis de Gialdino (2009), this kind of cognitive interaction and egalitarianism between the researcher and participant leads to the cooperative construction of quality knowledge. He concludes that:

it is about preventing the knowledge producers from denying not only the essential identity of the participant actors but also their own, by disregarding the shared feature of their humanity, which makes them one and the same, which identifies them and which is the reason for every person's dignity and,

¹⁷ Page numbers are provided for some paraphrasing, particularly where a point comes from a specific page in the source.

on that account, of that of both subjects of cognitive interaction (Vasilachis de Gialdino 2009: 19).

The three characteristics of qualitative research identified by Boeije (2005)¹⁸ typify the nature of this study. First, the research questions aim to understand how people give meaning to their social environment and how they behave in light of this. Second, the research methods enable the researcher to study the research topic from the perspectives of the research subjects. Third, the goal is for the researcher to describe and explore the research topic and explain this wherever possible. In this study, the research questions aimed to understand how Nigerian immigrants and South Africans interpret their social realities in South Africa as this interpretation influences their behavior towards one another. The methods used also enabled the researcher to learn about the networks ties that bind Nigerians and South Africans in their everyday relationships based on their own understanding and interpretations of their lived experiences. The qualitative approach adopted and the methods used enabled the researcher to analyze and interpret the findings in a scientific manner without losing the subjective voices of the participants (see Rubin and Rubin 2005: 27; Williams 2002: 128). According to Marshall and Rossman (1995: 54), the analysis of data in its interpretivist sense means that the researcher “reads” the interview for what he/she thinks is meant, and makes inferences from the data “about something outside of the interview interaction itself”. In this way, the researcher is also involved in the interpretation process as he/she is able to select aspects of what is being observed which is deemed relevant to answer the questions under investigation (Blaikie 2007:124).

In summary, a qualitative approach was justified for this study as it accommodates the subjective nature of interpretivism through its emphasis on the importance of understanding people’s views and the meanings they attribute to social phenomena. This also informed the methods the researcher used for participant selection, and data collection and analysis. However, an important question to grapple with before discussing the sampling techniques,

¹⁸ In Wissink (2009: 7) “The Situated Agency of Irregular Migrants in Izmir, a Transit Migration Hub: A Report on Data Collection and Analysis”. Masters dissertation. Available at https://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&source=web&rdct=j&url=http://www.ru.nl/publish/pages/757348/scs203_marieke_wissink.pdf&ved=0CB0QFjACahUKEwjK84axpJDJAhUCOhQKHxzmASUand usg=AFQjCNEKPvm9cl55s7e5XsA154-1UawwlAand sig2=Y_mBu4VHo52QMbem4hxL-A

and data collection and analysis is whether an interpretivist epistemology was justified for this study.

6.2. Epistemological justification

An enduring challenge of social epistemology is both the ontological question of what is known (the very nature of social reality and existence) and how to know what counts as valid knowledge. This challenge resonates in the tension between the positivist and interpretivist schools of thought, with the former arguing that the social world can be understood by applying invariant laws that are used in the natural sciences. In other words, there is enough similarity in the object of inquiry in the natural and social sciences to warrant the pursuit of methodological unity between the two (Babbie and Mouton 2009: 43). Positivism's ontological stance is that only phenomena that are observable by the senses count as knowledge and this knowledge is acquired by empirically testing hypotheses derived from theory (Wissink 2009: 7). Opposed to this school of thought is the interpretivist tradition, which argues that other than direct observation, there are a variety of ways of knowing about the world. Thus interpretivism, as an approach of social research, "is founded on the assumption that knowledge about the world is not given by the senses immediately, but by the human interpretations of it. In order to understand the world, one must investigate how people give meaning to the world around them" (Wissink 2009: 7). This is also rooted in phenomenological thinking which emphasizes the centrality of human consciousness; people are conceived, not primarily as biological organisms or bodies, "but firstly and foremost as conscious, self-directing, symbolic human beings" who need to be understood, not explained (Babbie and Mouton 2009: 28). For the phenomenologist, "the fact that people are continuously constructing, developing and changing the everyday (common sense) interpretations of their world(s) should be taken into account in any conception of social research" (2009: 28). According to Snape and Spencer (2003), the discussion on what can be known about the world refers to the question of whether a social world exists independent of human conceptions and interpretations. In this regard, the interpretivist school of thought argues that there is no such thing as an "external reality", but that senses of reality are reconstructed by those giving meaning to it (Wissink 2009: 7). According to her, "even when an external reality would exist, it will only be meaningful when human perceptions of it are studied" (Wissink 2009: 7). In the case of this study, the South African migration policy might be an objective feature of society and as such construct the external reality for

migrants. However, what matters in the analysis is to bring out the implications of this policy for the relations between Nigerian immigrants and South Africans. Factors which could influence the participants' relationships, that is, gender and class, which may also form part of their external reality in South Africa, are also subjects of their experiences and the perceptions they form as a result.

Related to the notion of understanding people and integrating their interpretations of their lived experiences into social research is the social network theory¹⁹ which is used in this study as a theoretical framework to explain how Nigerian immigrants use social capital developed from networks to socially and economically integrate into the host community while navigating their perceived differences. While theory does not necessarily determine the research strategy, it can provide *sensitizing concepts* that give direction to the research (Wissink 2009: 8). These concepts are meant to “draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings” (Bowen 2006: 3). In the case of this study, concepts associated with the social network theory (Social Exchange, Mutual Interest, Self-Interest and Social Capital) were revisited throughout the research process and employed in collecting and analysing the empirical material. For example, they served as the building block for my interview guides (see appendices 1 and 2).

6.3. Data collection

Data was generated from secondary and primary sources. Data that are extracted from already existing literature are secondary while primary sources of data are collected directly by the researcher (Kumar 1999: 104). The secondary data was generated to not only provide broad contextual and bibliographic information, but to support the primary sources and thus illuminate the essence of the study.

¹⁹ According to Jack et al (2010), social network theory is best used to explore the nature and effects of interactions between various people.

i. Secondary data

The conceptual frameworks, theoretical approaches and contextual information that are relevant and related to migration, network theories and analysis, and the nature of relations between migrants and host communities were sourced from published books, newspapers, government documents, academic journals and unpublished dissertations.

ii. Primary data

Primary data was collected through qualitative interviews. As opposed to quantitative interviews, qualitative interviews allow for flexibility to capture the respondents' experiences as much as possible. The interviews were audio or digitally recorded or in some cases manually written, as not all respondents granted consent for the sessions to be recorded. In these instances, notes were taken during the course of the interview. Two different sets of semi-structured interviews were carried out; one with Nigerian immigrants and the other with their most important or closest South African ties or members of their various networks. The study focused on Nigerians for two major reasons. The first reason is based on my personal experience as a Nigerian migrant who has lived (studied, worked, and became a mother) in South for over 10 years and as such has experienced the world of being an African migrant in South Africa. My experience which also includes having three children, who are South African citizens, is unique as I have tasted xenophobic exclusion and also enjoyed acceptance from South Africans. For example, in 2010, in an argument with a South African born colleague at the University of Zululand over parking space, he told me to go back to my country instead of contesting his parking space with him. However, on the other hand, I have made very good South African born friends who have been very good to me in ways that reduced my prejudices, promoted friendship and fostered my integration into South African society. I became motivated to enquire into the lived experiences of other Nigerians who may have had similar experiences and that was how the choice of Nigeria came about. In a nutshell, as a Nigerian, I had intimate knowledge of the subjects and their lived experiences in South Africa which rather than biasing my study, enhanced the effectiveness of the findings even though this was not initially highlighted. My second reason was the general stereotypes South Africans have of Nigerians as criminals and drug pushers. According to Crush et al (2014), Nigerians are one of the most disliked African migrant groups in South Africa. Based on this argument, the study sought to investigate the nature of relationships between Nigerians and South Africans by focusing on their network ties. It also investigated

the kinds of network ties that evolved as a result of intergroup contact between these groups. This was done in order to answer the broad question: beyond hostility are there convivial relations that exist between the two groups?

My position as the researcher who is also a Nigerian immigrant poses some ethical questions which required scientific objectivity to mediate. For example, how was I to separate my own experience as an immigrant from the subjectivities of other Nigerian immigrants and from affecting the outcomes of the study? While reflexivity²⁰ could be an advantage in terms of gaining access to other Nigerian immigrants and getting them to trust me sufficiently to be open during interviews, it could also be a source of bias. I migrated to South Africa in 2005 to join my husband, who came to the country to study. We resided in Pietermaritzburg for three years and moved to Empangeni after our postgraduate studies where we both took up appointments as lecturers in the University of Zululand. My husband has been president of the Nigerian associations in Pietermaritzburg (2006 – 2008) and in Umhlathuze (2011 – 2013), and I was Assistant Secretary of ANRU when my husband was president. While this experience as an executive member of the association gave me some advantage in terms of inside knowledge of its members, it also raised questions about following proper research ethics protocols to access the association's membership database and not abuse it. However, I was able to remove myself as I no longer held the portfolio of an executive of the Association at the time of the study and I hence applied for access formally as any "outsider" would.

Secondly, in the course of data collection and analysis, as the researcher, I was also involved in the interpretations that took place in trying to integrate the lived experiences of my research subjects into social research. This posed an ethical challenge as, according to Marshall and Rossman (1995: 54), the analysis of data in its interpretivist sense means that the researcher reads the interview for what he/she thinks is meant, and makes inferences from the data "about something outside of the interview interaction itself." This gives the researcher discretionary powers to shape and reshape, and select and ignore what he/she

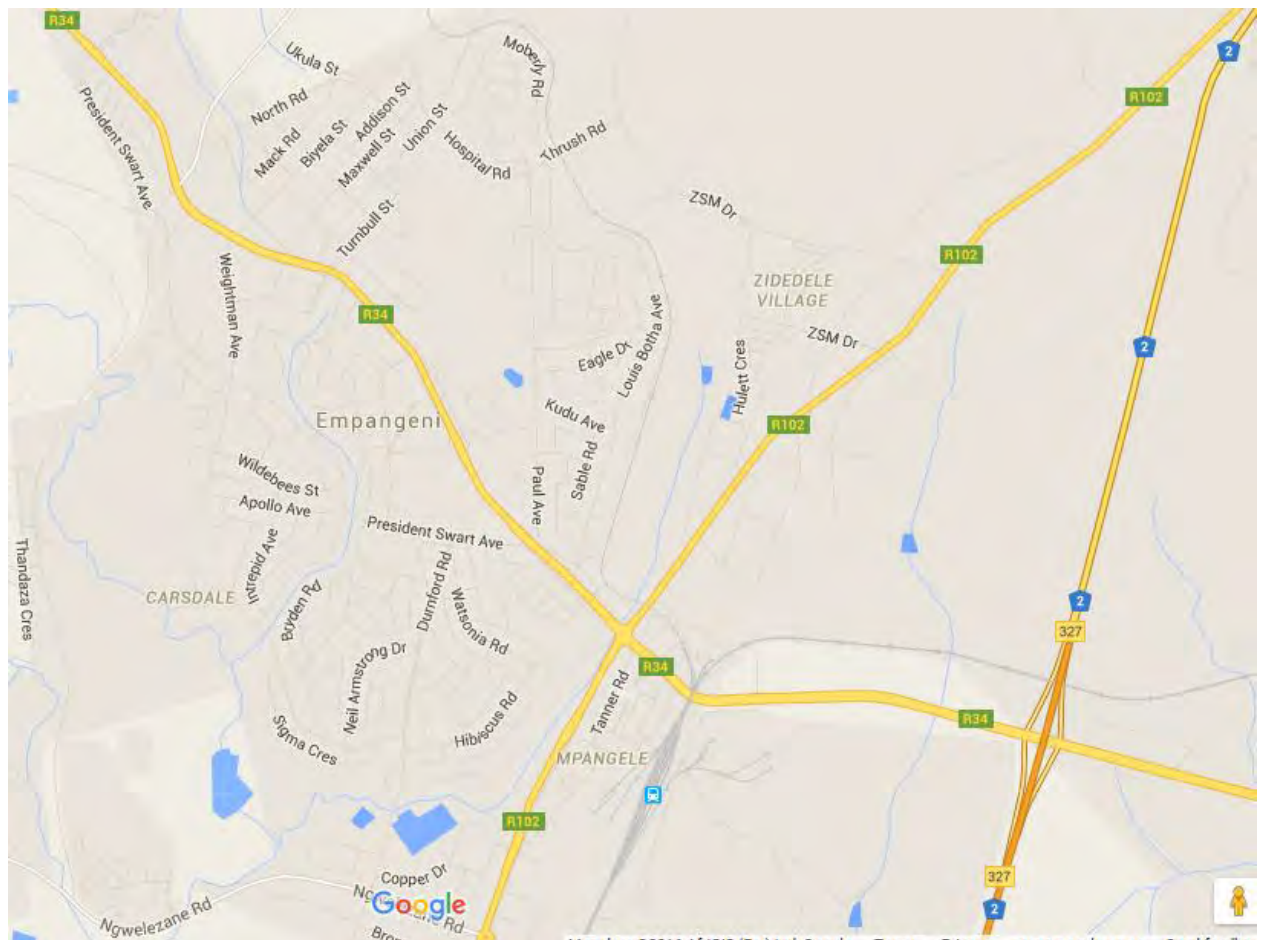
²⁰ The underlining assumption of reflexivity is that within the research process our beliefs, backgrounds and feelings are part of the process of knowledge construction. The researcher must be aware of certain aspects of his character and experience that he/she brings to the interview, such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, which may influence the research process.

deems relevant or otherwise to answer the research question he/she set. This put me in a privileged but delicate position that required me to distinguish as clearly as possible between what data was retrieved or rejected and which was analyzed regardless of my position as the researcher and as a Nigerian migrant. Indeed, in the course of this study, my privileged position as the researcher may have influenced the research process and its outcome(s) given my role in formulating the research problem, defining the aims and objectives of the study, and collecting, cleaning and analysing the data. Being aware of this ethical dilemma from the very beginning helped me to deal with it with a clear head and with integrity, and in my opinion, declaring it now serves to boost the quality and validity of this study.

A stratified random sampling technique was employed to select migrants to be interviewed. This involved dividing the migrant population into various groups or strata in order to ensure that all parts and elements of the population were represented in the sample; in other words, one stratum represents each element of the population (Bless and Higson-Smith 1995: 90). One of the advantages of stratified random sampling is that it ensures the selection of targets that represent the population being studied. The sample was drawn from the Association of Nigerian Residents in Umhlathuze (ANRU) in Empangeni. The study focused on Empangeni because of its unique character that makes it a destination for migrants. The town is home to both transnational and national migrants who work in the various rural towns that surround it such as Felixton, Kwadlangezwa, Ngwelezane, Esikhawini, Eshowe, and Machane among others. Because it is a central urban town for these rural areas, migrants settle there and travel to and from their various places of work on a daily basis. The port in Richards Bay, the university in Kwadlangezwa, and the hospital in Ngwelezane also make Empangeni an attractive migrant hub. The study addressed African migrants' experiences in a smaller town rather than large metropolitan areas in South Africa where much of the research in this field has been conducted. These two reasons formed the rationale for sampling Nigerians that were members of ANRU. The ANRU has more than 60 registered members who are Nigerian immigrants residing in the area. They include 25 medical doctors, four nurses, eight university professors/dons, two architects, four clergy, two civil engineers and 16 business people. It is estimated that the membership of the ANRU makes up about 50% of Nigerian immigrants known to be residing in the Umhlathuze area. The main objective of this voluntary association is to support its members through fostering networks among them and providing assistance to those in need. According to its home page, it has been in existence as

a registered Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) since 2004. Apart from fostering unity amongst Nigerians and catering for their social welfare, it seeks to promote positive relations between Nigerians and South Africans at grassroots level, and between the two countries. To this end, every year since 2010, the association has engaged in community service to give back to its immediate communities that are in need (www.anru.weebly.com Accessed 14/04/13).

Figure 6.1. Street map of Empangeni, Umhlathuze Municipality

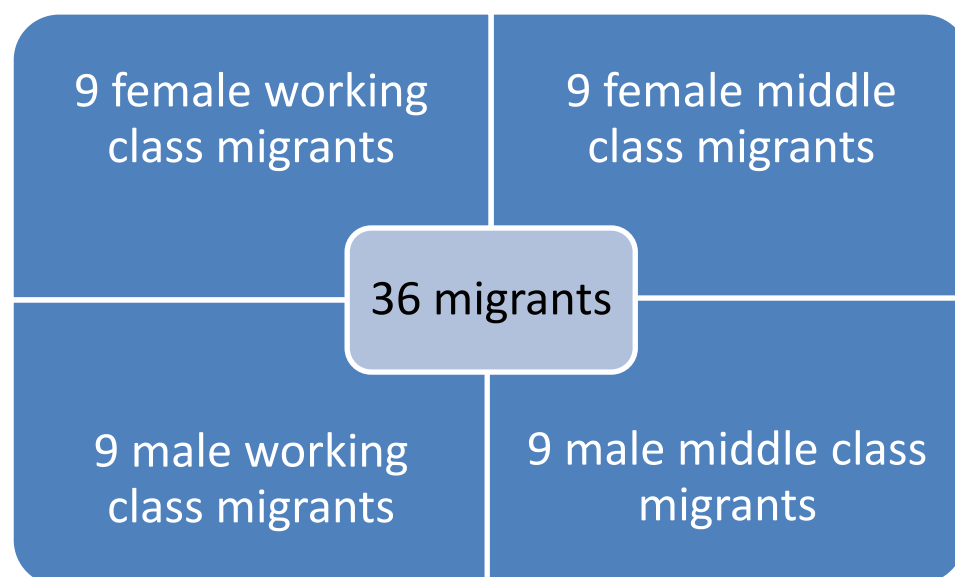


Source: Google maps (<https://www.google.com/maps/@-28.7550064,31.8958189,14z?hl=en-US>)

Out of ANRU's membership list, 36 were sampled randomly for the study. The lottery method of sampling was used to select the Nigerian migrants (Rivera and Rivera 2007). Prior to the lottery, all 60 members were categorized into class and gender groups and sub-groups,

respectively on the strength of the information gleaned from ANRU's membership database which the researcher was granted access to, having served as the Assistant Secretary (2011 – 2013) of the ANRU. The 60 members were divided into two strata, A and B. Stratum A comprised of middle class members while stratum B included working class members. Furthermore, stratum A was divided into sub-strata A1, comprised of males and A2, comprised of females. Stratum B was divided in the same way (see Figure 6.1 below). Once this was done, each name from each stratum was written on a piece of paper and put in various bowls and the respondents were randomly selected. Ndletyana's (2014) class stratification was used to divide the migrants into class groups. The middle class consisted of those migrants with individual earnings of R10, 000 and above, while the working class were those that earned below R10, 000.

Figure 6.2: Stratification of migrants based on class and gender



The interviews were conducted in a fairly structured way in that all respondents were asked the same set of core questions, followed by more discursive questions. The migrants' interview guide (see appendix 1) was modeled around three broad guidelines: (i) questions on demographic profile, (ii) questions about the formation and nature of relationships in their networks, and (iii) name generator questions used to identify one South African member of

the African migrant's network. This made it possible to obtain the most important South African dyadic tie identified by the Nigerian migrants.

The guides for the interviews with South Africans (see appendix 2) were translated into isiZulu. A research assistant, who is conversant with the language, conducted a few of these interviews. She also assisted with the translation of these interviews as I am not fluent in isiZulu. The interview questions revolved around the nature of ties and the level of reciprocity that existed within the network ties and South Africans' general perceptions of migration from elsewhere in Africa to South Africa. Thirty-two instead of 36 South Africans were interviewed because four African migrants did not identify any most important tie with South Africans. This brought the total number of respondents interviewed for the study to 68 instead of the targeted 72.

On average, the interviews lasted approximately an hour. The maximum time taken was two hours 30 minutes, while the minimum was 38 minutes. The interviews with Nigerian migrants were mostly conducted at their place of residence. Only three were conducted at their workplaces. The situation was different with the South Africans. Eleven South Africans insisted that the interviews be conducted telephonically; 14 were interviewed at their place of residence; and seven were interviewed at their workplaces. The interviews were conducted between May and December 2014.

6.4. Data analysis

Qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to analyse the secondary and primary data, respectively. These included content analysis and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). According to Neuendorf (2002: 10) "content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity, inter-subjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalisability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented" (Neuendorf 2002: 10). This method of data analysis can be used on any kind of communication (Babbie and Mouton 2006: 383). Various themes were created after reviewing the data generated.

These themes were manually coded and are presented in the various chapters that follow. The themes coded from the primary data include:

- Theme 1: The formation of social networks between Nigerians and South Africans;
- Theme 2: The types of social networks that exist between them;
- Theme 3: The nature of social networks;
- Theme 4: The nature of the most important South African tie with the various migrants;
- Theme 5: The influence of class and gender on Nigerian migrants' social networks.

These themes provide a holistic understanding of the Nigerians' social networks and the nature of their relations with South Africans in their various spaces of interaction.

The themes coded from the interviews with South Africans include:

- Theme 1: The type of network ties South Africans have with Nigerians;
- Theme 2: Characteristics and reciprocal nature of the network ties; that is, how the South Africans respond in relation to their dyadic ties with the Nigerian migrants;
- Theme 3: Impact of African identity on the network;
- Theme 4: Influence of cultural differences on the network ties;
- Theme 5: Perceptions of migration from elsewhere in Africa to South Africa.

These themes explain the nature of the relationship from the perspective of the South Africans and provide an understanding of their different views on migration from the continent.

6.5. Limitations of the study

One of the limitations of the study is its focus on particular dyadic ties in a network instead of the whole spectrum of the Nigerians' and South Africans' network. However, a micro-scale focus on individual pairs' insights allowed for an in-depth and rich exploration of their lived experiences. Another major challenge encountered from the inception of the study was the confinement of the migrant stock to the membership of ANRU which excluded other Nigerian migrants that reside in the area but are not members of the association. Members of the association may have more social capital because they are the kinds of people who join

organisations; less well-connected migrants were thus possibly excluded. A second challenge was that although members of the association were more accessible and verifiable given the association's membership documentation, the study could have benefitted from a bigger stock of Nigerian migrants to sample from. Furthermore, it was difficult to accurately determine the size of the Nigerian population in Richard's Bay and Empangeni. However, as a Nigerian migrant myself who has lived in the Umhlathuze area since 2009, I estimated that just over 120 known Nigerian migrants reside in this area.

6.6. Ethical considerations

A number of ethical issues were taken into consideration throughout the research process. The study was guided by moral principles to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the various respondents and to ensure that no harm came to them. All the respondents were required to complete informed consent agreements (see Appendix 3). These agreements not only sought their consent to participate in the study but explained that their participation was voluntary. In other words, the respondents were not obliged to take part in the study and could withdraw at any time. Furthermore, the respondents were interviewed at the location of their choice and the interviews were only recorded after the respondents granted permission to do so. In order to maintain their anonymity, pseudonyms were used when analysing the data. The information generated from the interviews is stored in a secure place and no one except the researcher has access. This information will be destroyed after a period of five years.

CHAPTER 7: AFRICAN MIGRANTS' NETWORKS WITH SOUTH AFRICANS

This study employed network analysis which is appropriate for exploring everyday relationships between migrants and members of the host community. This chapter examines and analyses the nature of ties and dyadic relations between Nigerians immigrants and South Africans living in Umhlathuze Municipality. It presents the key findings on African migrants' networks with South Africans, explains the drivers of Nigerian migration to South Africa and explores the nature of the ties that exist between Nigerians and South Africans. A key finding is that South Africans' responses to Nigerian immigrants were characterized by a mix of prejudice and hostility on the one hand, and conviviality and hospitality on the other, as is evident in the various kinds of support the Nigerians gained from their network ties. On the part of Nigerians, the findings show that they reacted to the various responses of South Africans in different ways, including self-exclusion, assimilation, cosmopolitanism, entanglement and conviviality. Finally, based on the findings, it is argued that class and gender are two important variables that influence the formation and nature of ties between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. A systematic explanation of the findings of the study is then provided based on the results and findings that emanated from the interviews conducted with the Nigerian respondents.

7.1. Descriptive information on the sample

To refresh the reader on the methodology employed, the data analysed in this chapter was generated by qualitative interviews with 36 Nigerian migrants, 18 women and 18 men. They were segmented into two class groups (middle class and working class) and 18 were randomly selected from each of these groups. Classification based on class and the equal representation of gender aimed to determine if class and gender influence the relationships between Nigerian immigrants and South Africans. A random sampling technique was employed to select respondents from a sample drawn from ANRU. As noted in Chapter one, this body has more than 60 registered members who are Nigerian immigrants residing in the area. Thirty-six of its members were randomly selected using the lottery sampling technique²¹. In line with research ethics, pseudonyms are used to protect the respondents'

²¹ Before the lottery was done, all 60 members were divided into two groups; A and B representing the middle class and working class, respectively, then each group was further sub-divided into male and female. These categorizations were made on the strength of the information gleaned from ANRU's membership database which the researcher was granted access to.

identity. The data obtained from the primary sources were analyzed thematically to determine the relationship between South Africans and Nigerian migrants.

7.1.1. List of egos and their various alters

The tables below present a list of egos, the dates they were interviewed and information on their most important tie.

Table 7.1: List of middle class male egos and their various alters

EGO			ALTERS					
Name	Age	Date of Interview	Name	Age (years)	Sex	Class	Date of Interview	Tie
Nosa	31-40	22/10/14	Marvin	Above 40	M	Middle class	10/11/14	Work colleague
Chukwudi	31-40	20/05/14	Bongi	Above 40	M	Middle class	29/11/14	Work colleague
Mark	Above 40	22/06/14	Paul	Above 40	M	Middle class	09/08/14	Friend
Max	31-40	14/10/14	Penny	31-40	F	Middle class	14/11/14	Spouse
John	Above 40	24/07/14	Desiree	20-30	F	Middle class	04/12/14	Friend
Toju	Above 40	24/07/14	Ntombi	31-40	F	Middle class	11/08/14	Spouse
Osayi	Above 40	10/08/14	Bobbi	Above 40	F	Middle class	12/08/14	Spouse
Shola	Above 40	22/10/14	Ntuli	Above 40	M	Middle class	12/11/14	Friend
Chuks	Above 40	15/08/14	Zandy	Above 40	F	Middle class	12/07/14	Spouse

Table 7.2. List of working class male egos and their various alters

EGO			ALTERS					
Name	Age	Date of Interview	Name	Age	Sex	Class	Date of Interview	T ie
Wale	Above 40	16/08/14	Thembi	Above 40	F	Working class	20/08/14	Partner
Yobo	Above 40	14/12/14	Meg	31-40	F	Middle class		Partner
Kome	Above 40	17/06/14	Jane	31-40	F	Working class	22/07/14	Partner
Musa	Above 40	15/05/14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Jerry	Above 40	09/09/14	Vusi	Above 40	M	Working class	6/12/14	Clergyman
Moses	Above 40	26/05/14	Nkosi	Above 40	M	Middle class	19/06/14	Clergyman
Nedu	Above 40	29/12/14	Sthe	Above 40	M	Working class	30/12/14	Friend
Ifeanyi	31-40	03/09/14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Osamudiamen	Above 40	12/07/14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 7.3. List of middle class female egos and their various alters

EGO			ALTERS					
Name	Age	Date of Interview	Name	Age	Sex	Class	Date of Interview	Tie
Simbi	31-40	12/06/14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Remi	31-40	09/09/14	Samba	Above 40	M	Middle class	01/10/14	Work colleague
Tracy	31-40	03/08/14	Ntando	Above 40	M	Middle class	27/09/14	Friend
Omo	Above 40	03/08/14	Zama	Above 40	F	Middle class	10/10/14	Friend
Onome	31-40	10/09/14	Sne	20-30	F	Working class	10/09/14	Friend
Rebecca	20-30	27/05/14	Martin	31-40	M	Middle class	04/06/14	Friend
Justina	Above 40	05/06/14	Bobby	Above 40	M	Working class	05/07/14	Work colleague
Lola	Above 40	10/07/14	Praise	31-40	M	Middle class	13/07/14	Clergyman
Eve	Above 40	15/07/14	Pat	31-40	M	Working class	21/07/14	Work colleague

Table 7.4. List of working class female egos and their various alters

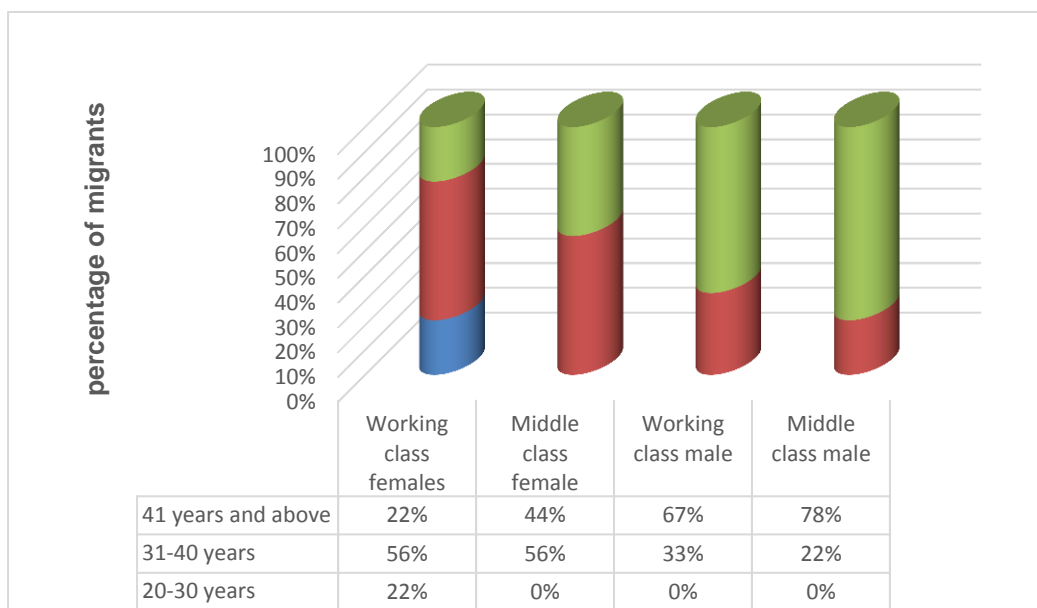
EGO			ALTERS					
Name	Age	Date of Interview	Name	Age	Sex	Class	Date of Interview	Tie
Peju	20-30	25/07/14	Titus	31-40	M	Middle class	02/08/14	Friend
Adesuwa	31-40	10/09/14	Thando	31-40	M	Working class	03/11/14	Friend
Osehi	31-40	02/07/14	Thami	31-40	M	Middle class	14/07/14	Friend
Dada	31-40	12/09/14	Joe	31-40	M	Working class	14/09/14	Clergyman
Joan	31-40	10/08/14	Pascal	31-40	M	Working class	11/08/14	Clergyman
Suzan	31-40	13/12/14	Ron	20-30	M	Working class	14/12/14	Clergyman
Funmi	31-40	12/09/14	Futhi	31-40	F	Middle class	21/09/14	Work colleague
Fatima	Above 40	29/09/14	Sandile	31-40	M	Middle class	20/11/14	Friend
Ado	Above 40	12/05/14	Emma	31-40	M	Middle class	14/07/14	Friend

7.2. Demographic profile of Nigerian respondents

This section provides descriptive demographic information the on age, education, employment status, and income of the Nigerian migrants in order to show who these migrants are. The demographic profile of the participants is presented below in line with the question sequence in the interview schedule.

7.2.1. Age and gender of the migrant sample

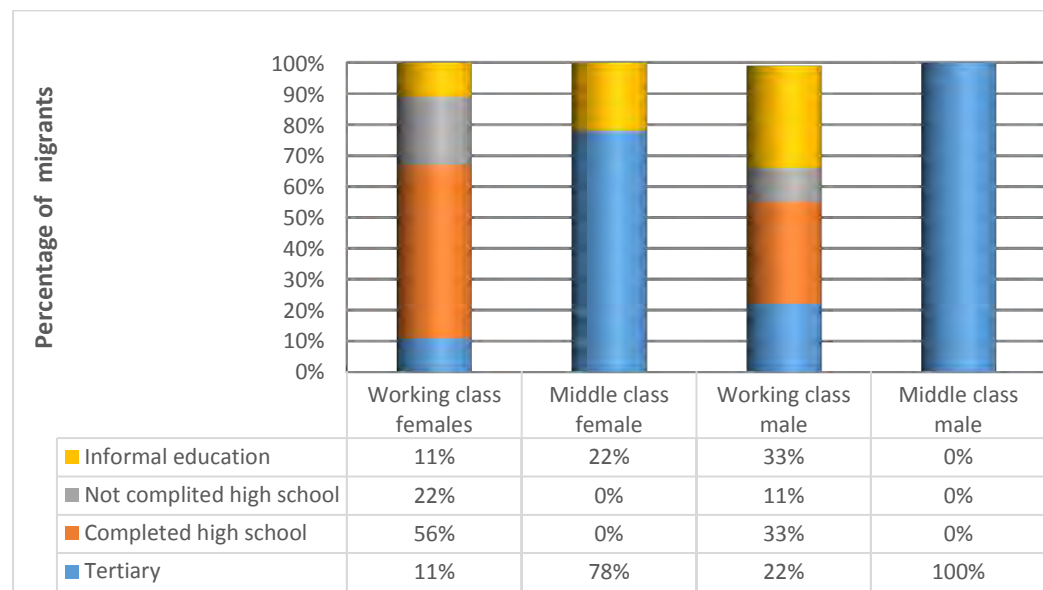
Figure 7.1: Age and gender of the migrant sample



Of the 36 respondents, only two (6%) were in the 20 to 30 years age bracket and this cohort were females. Fifteen migrants (42%) were between the ages of 31 and 40, of which five were males and 10 were females. The majority, which consisted of 13 males and six females (53%), were 40 and older. The sample of 36 Nigerians consisted of 18 females and 18 males. This was deliberately done to ensure equal representation of men and women.

7.2.2. Academic qualifications

Figure 7.2: Academic qualifications of migrants



All 36 Nigerian respondents responded to the question on their educational qualifications. Six (17%) had no formal education but some form of informal training which include apprenticeship in hair styling, textile design and petty forms of trade. Nineteen (53%) migrants had a tertiary qualification, while eight (22%) had completed high school which is equivalent to South Africa's matric qualification. Only three (8%) did not complete high school which included two working class females and one working class male. Generally, the males had higher academic qualifications than the females. Thirty-one per cent of the males had a tertiary qualification, compared to 22% of the females. All the middle class males had tertiary qualifications, compared to 19% of the middle class females. Only 6% of the working class males and 3% of the working class females had tertiary qualifications. The middle class group had higher academic qualifications than the working class group and in terms of gender; a higher proportion (14%) of the working class females had only completed high school and did not further their education. In contrast, 8% of the males had only completed high school. This shows that male migrants tend to have higher academic qualifications than female migrants.

7.2.3. Employment status

Figure 7.3: Employment status



The figure above provides information on the employment status of the Nigerians sampled for the study. The results show that 28 (78%) were employed and seven (22%) were unemployed. Of the 28 who were employed, 17 were male while 11 were female. In terms of gender and class, those who were employed included two working class females, nine middle class females, eight working class males and nine middle class males. All the unemployed migrants were from the working class group, and most were female. The figure shows that there were seven unemployed females and one unemployed male. All seven unemployed females were full-time housewives. However, three stated that they were seeking employment. Asked why she was unemployed, Peju from the working class group, stated that,

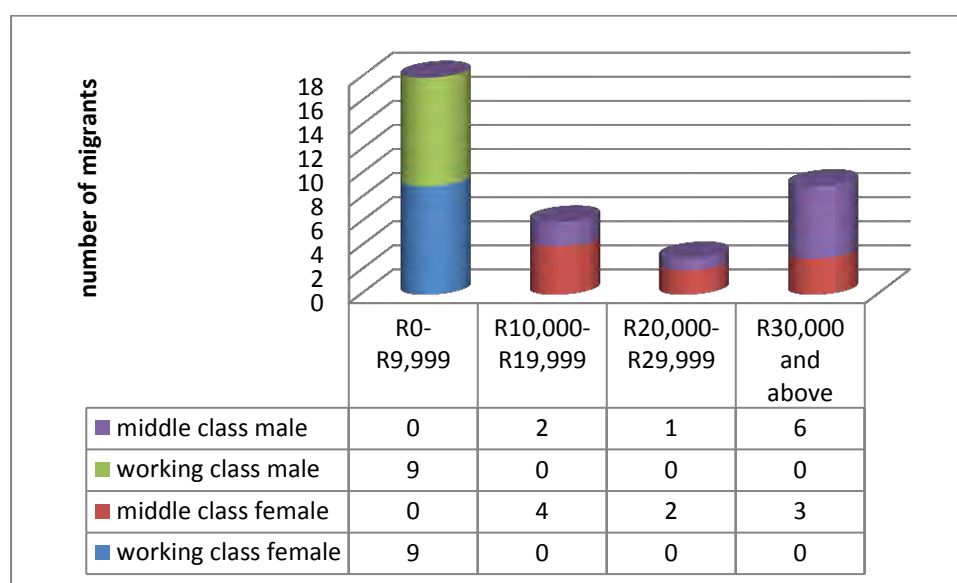
It is so difficult to get jobs in South Africa because of their labour laws that make it difficult for foreigners to get jobs and also the high number of high school graduates. I am also a high school graduate and the competition for job is just so hard. It is really not my intention to stay at home and do nothing, but what am I supposed to do? (Interviewed 25/07/14)

All those in the middle class group were employed. This shows that class, in this case based on skills, enables the economic integration of migrants. This is consistent with Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) argument that skilled migrants have a better chance of integrating

economically into the host community than unskilled migrants. On the other hand, only one male from the working class group was unemployed compared to seven females' in this group. This is also consistent with Preston et al's (2011) finding that when it comes to accessing jobs, female migrants are more disadvantaged than male migrants.

7.2.4. Income

Figure 7.4: Income of migrants



The monthly income of the Nigerian respondents is presented in the figure above. They were sampled from two class groups of 18 each, the middle class and the working class. Income was the defining factor for this categorization. The cut off point for the working class was R9, 999 and below²². Overall, 18 (50%) of those sampled earned below R9, 999, with nine females and males, respectively. This group mainly consisted of janitors, hairdressers, petty traders, tailors, shop assistants and those that were unemployed. Of the other 18 respondents from the total sample, six (17%) comprising of four females and two males earned between R10, 000 and R19, 999 per month. These were mainly teachers, business owners and nurses. Only three (8%) respondents earned between R20, 000 and R29, 999 a month. This group comprised of two female business owners and one male lecturer. Nine respondents (25%)

²² Income levels for both classes were pre-determined through information gleaned from members' registration forms in the ANRU's membership database.

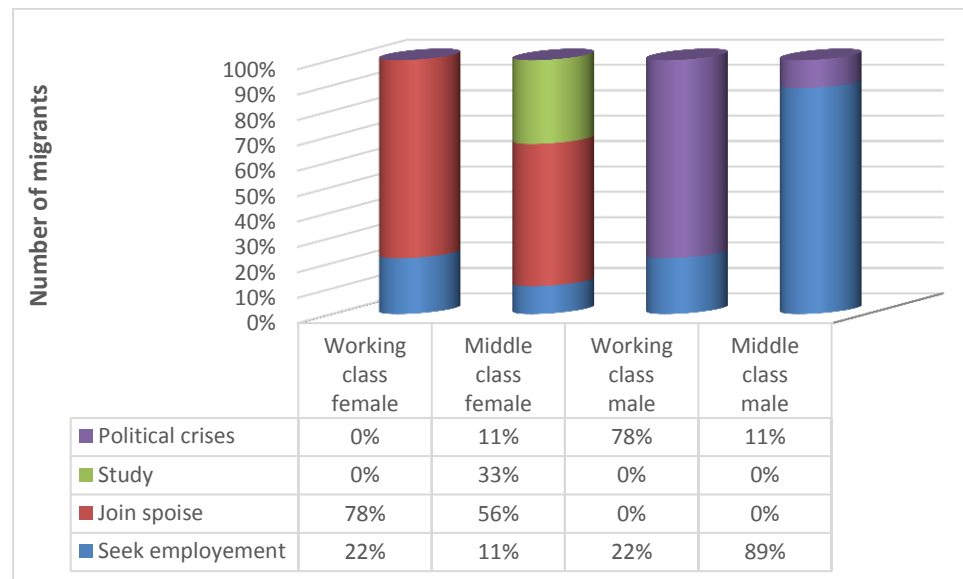
earned the highest level of income of approximately R30, 000, made up of six males and three females. These were mostly senior lecturers, medical practitioners and owners of large businesses. Figure 7.4 above shows that males were in the majority in the cohort of the highest income earners. The highest number of females from the middle class group earned between R10, 000 and R19, 999 while the highest number of males from the same group earned R30, 000 and above.

7.3. Formation and nature of social networks

In order to uncover the nature of the social networks of the Nigerian respondents, the interview questions were designed to explore their migration trends and personal experiences within host communities. A number of themes were covered during the interviews to obtain a detailed profile of the respondents. These include the rationale for migration to South Africa, duration of stay in the country, spaces of interaction and the most important South African tie. These are discussed in the sub-sections below.

7.3.1. Rationale behind migration to South Africa

Figure 7.5: Reason for migrating to South Africa



In order to better understand the nature of social networks between Nigerians and South Africans, it is important to establish some context in terms of why these Nigerians migrated to South Africa in the first place. All the Nigerians sampled were born in Nigeria and had spent most of their lives in that country. Asked why they emigrated from Nigeria to South Africa, various reasons were identified that ranged from economic to social factors. The responses to this open-ended question were coded and are presented below:

i. Economic reasons

Out of the 36 migrants sampled, 18 (50%) stated that the reason why they emigrated from Nigeria to South Africa was to seek a better life as the cost of living was too high in Nigeria and there was also a high level of unemployment. The majority in this group were males; seven working class and eight middle class male migrants. The remaining three females from both classes in this group said that they immigrated to South Africa to seek employment. They included two working class and one middle class migrants and in all three cases, marriage was not a push factor. For example, Ado, sampled from the working class, who has lived in South Africa for more than 10 years, explains why she emigrated from Nigeria.

I left Nigeria thinking I was going to get a better job. But I was wrong. Now I have to do small businesses here and there just to make ends meet (Interviewed 12/05/14).

Similarly, Chukwudi (Interviewed 20/05/14), a middle class male said that he came to South Africa to seek better employment opportunities in order to take care of his family.

It has been well documented in various studies that one of the main reasons why people migrate is to seek better economic opportunities especially in cases where the labour differential is higher in the host country. Todaro and Smith (2006: 342) observe that migration is mainly driven by a rational cost and benefit analysis on the part of migrants. It is motivated by “geographic differences in labour supply and demand and the resulting differential wages between labour-rich versus capital-rich countries” (Kurekova 2011: 21). However, the case of South Africa is somewhat more complex as it is a dual economy with a high level of inequality. On the one hand, there are high levels of unemployment and on the other, numerous skilled positions are vacant. This disparity is one of the consequences of apartheid that deprived the majority of South Africans of proper education, and the brain drain of skilled South Africans who left the country after the demise of apartheid due to fear of retaliation as well as those who continue to leave the country because they are disadvantaged by post-apartheid affirmative action laws. According to Ndulu (2004), post-apartheid South Africa has lost approximately 1.6 million skilled people, while an earlier study by Bhorat et al (2002) stated that a total of 4,600 South African professionals had been lost annually since 1994. Most migrants such as Ado and Chukwudi seek to capitalise on these opportunities. However, irrespective of their economic situation, gender still influences the pattern of migration. As this study revealed, males capitalize more on the economic opportunities presented by migration than females. This is in line with Dodson’s (1998: 141) study that found that “men and women migrate to South Africa for different reasons. Men go primarily in search of employment, whereas women’s migration is driven by a wide range of social and reproductive factors in addition to economic incentives”.

ii. Marital reasons

Another major factor identified as a reason for emigration is migrants' desire to join their spouses who had migrated to South Africa. Twelve respondents (33%), made up of seven working class and five middle class women stated that this was a motivating factor in emigrating from Nigeria. Therefore, more women from the working class group provided this reason. For example, Remi from the middle class sample stated that

South Africa was way out of my list of most favourable countries to migrate to. I only chose South Africa because my husband had migrated there to look for job. I was comfortable in Nigeria. I had a good job as a teacher and a home in the Western part of Nigeria. But after my husband left it was only necessary that I joined him in order to keep our family united (Interviewed 09/07/14).

Only women identified this factor as their reason for migrating to South Africa. This is consistent with Kanaiaupuni's (2000: 1311) study which maintains that "migration is a profoundly gendered process and that conventional explanations of men's migration in many cases do not apply to women". Balan (1981: 228) states that women's decision to migrate is usually "a consequence of the decision made by the primary movers" (Balan 1981: 228). A majority of 12 of the 18 women (83%) sampled for the current study were secondary migrants.

iii. Academic reasons

The study also revealed that education was a motivating factor for immigration to South Africa. The academic system in Nigeria is plagued by various challenges such as irregular or poor remuneration of staff which result in incessant labour strikes that prolong the duration of study at universities. Extended study duration and the uncertainties surrounding the educational sector have been identified as the main reasons why Nigerians seek university education abroad (Kanyin 2013). This was confirmed in this study as three (8%) female respondents said they were attracted by the better deal offered by South African academic institutions. According to Fatima,

I came to South Africa to finish my undergraduate degree. It's not that Nigeria doesn't have good lecturers or school, but the government exploit these academic staff. They are paid peanuts and exploited. Because of this, most

times they go on strike. When I was in Nigeria I was studying a four year degree but had spent three years in school but still in level one. In South Africa, the minute you are admitted you already know your stipulated time of graduation. This is not the case in Nigeria (Interviewed 29/09/14).

iv. Political persecution

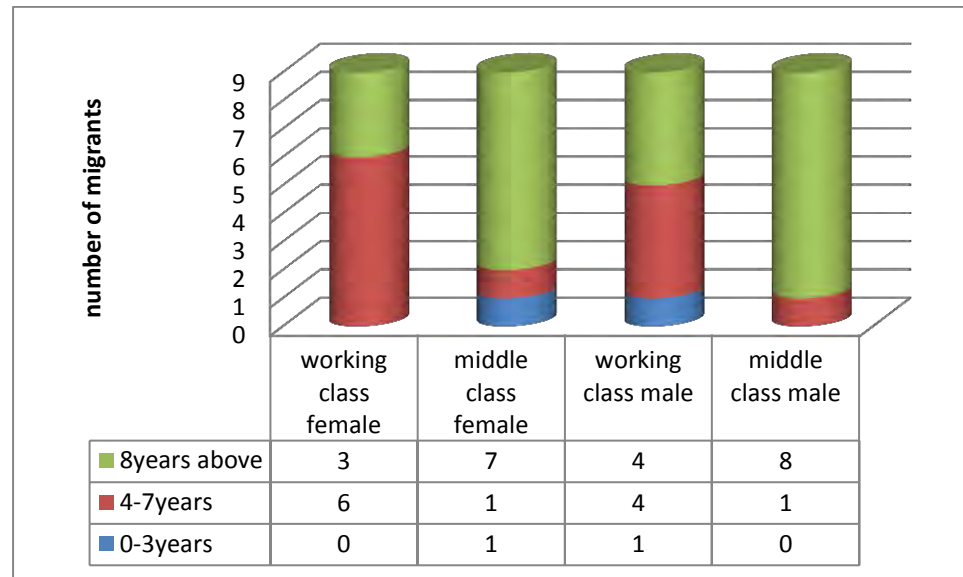
Political persecution was another reason for emigration. Nigeria has had its share of political uncertainty, especially during the period of military rule that was marked by persecution of pro-democracy movements and their members. Three (8%) of the male participants said that they left the country due to such persecution. As Uzo from the middle class puts it,

I left Nigeria due to the oppressive government of late Abacha. My brother was a journalist who wrote some nasty but true comments about his leadership and there were attempts on our lives. We just had to leave. And since then South Africa became our new home (Interviewed 14/10/14).

These findings reiterate McAdam's (2013) argument regarding crisis migration, which she describes as a movement triggered by social, economic, and environmental hazards (McAdam 2013: 10). These circumstances apply to the three migrants referred to above.

7.3.2. Duration of stay

Figure 7.6: Duration of stay



The figure above reveals that most of the migrants interviewed had been in South Africa for a number of years. Only two (6%), a middle class female and a working class male, had been in the country for less than three years. Twelve (33%), which includes six working class females, one middle class female, four working class males and one middle class male had been in South Africa for 4-7 years, while 22 (61%), consisting of three working class females, seven middle class females, four working class males and eight middle class males had resided in the country for more than eight years. The duration of migrants' stay in the host community is important because studies have shown that this influences the formation and characteristics of networks between migrants and members of the host community (see Lubber et al 2009). The middle class migrants had the highest duration of stay; 15 middle class migrants consisting of seven middle class females and eight middle class males had resided in South Africa for more than eight years compared with eight working class migrants (three females and five males).

7.4. Empangeni as a migration destination

In providing some context for the migration trends of Nigerians in Empangeni, it was also important to explore their various accounts of how Empangeni became their place of residence. The respondents gave various reasons for why and how they came to live in this small town. For instance, John from the middle class explained how Empangeni became his home:

Empangeni was not my first destination. I first stayed in Johannesburg, where I hustled to make ends meet. As I said I couldn't practice as a medical doctor because I wasn't registered and I wasn't allowed to practice in South Africa. After I got registered, I tried to get jobs in Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria. But this was impossible; I assumed these areas are reserved for the locals. So immediately I saw an advert for a position in Empangeni, I applied and I got the job... I can say Empangeni wasn't my first choice, I like big cities but *man must chop* [pidgin English for "I have to survive"]... Well, I have come to like the town because it is peaceful and quiet (Interviewed 24/07/14).

Another respondent, Osehi from the working class group stated that she migrated directly to Empangeni. She explains that

I came to South Africa to join my husband who was already in Empangeni. I did not get an opportunity to choose another place. I like big cities and I am not sure if it was left to me I would pick Empangeni (Interviewed 02/07/14).

Dada, a working class woman responded that,

I am a small business woman who sells hair pieces and other small items. I have stayed in other parts of South Africa. I came to Empangeni specifically because of the business opportunities here. Because it is a small town, there is very little competition, unlike in big towns like Durban (Interviewed 12/09/14).

Finally, Yobo, a working class respondent stated that,

It is my business that made me come to Empangeni. I am a small scale trader and in Durban, you have a lot of Nigerians selling the same items that I sell

and even cheaper. But Empangeni does not have a lot of these businesses... So I came here because it is located in an area that has not really been overpopulated by foreigners (Interviewed 14/12/14).

Although the respondents cited various reasons, a common factor was the economic opportunities the small town of Empangeni offered. A few, like Osehi, had limited opportunities to choose their destination due to marital reasons. As a small town, Empangeni is a more favourable destination for migrants because it offers economic opportunities across not only gender but class categories.

7.5. Migrants' residential spaces

Thirty-four (94%) of the respondents resided in the main Empangeni town. These included all the females from the working and middle class; and 16 males, nine middle class and seven working class. Out of the 34 migrants that lived in the main town, 30 (nine middle class females, eight working class females, eight middle class males and five working class males) resided in the residential or urban areas of the town. Nine middle class females, six middle class males and one working class male resided in private residences. The remainder, eight working class females, two middle class males and four working class males, lived in rented apartments. These migrants stated that security was the main reason why they chose to stay in this part of Empangeni irrespective of cost. The remaining four respondents (one working class female, one middle class male and two working class males) resided in the Central Business District (CBD). Only the working class male lived in a private residence, while the other three were tenants in rented apartments. This group stated that proximity to the business areas of Empangeni was good for their businesses and this was their reason for living in this part of town. Only two working class males resided on the outskirts of Empangeni, in Ngwelezane. They both lived in a rented apartment. They said that they could not afford to live in the main town, where rents are expensive.

7.6. Spaces of interaction

The study investigated migrants' interaction in various spaces in order to answer the question: within the spatial proximity between Nigerian migrants and South Africans, were

there possible interactions that translated to conviviality and entanglement or hostility and exclusion? The findings of the study show that various spaces create an enabling environment for interaction between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. The spaces investigated included workplaces, religious settings and neighbourhoods. According to Amin (2012: 79), workplaces and religious settings are sites that enable potential interaction of host members and “unknown strangers” and are “the sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference” (Amin, 2002). However, as shown later in this chapter, not all contact or interactions within these spaces led to conviviality and entanglement. This supports Durrheim et al’s (2014) argument on the paradoxical effects of contact.

7.6.1. Place of work

i. Nature of interaction

The findings of the study show that all 28 migrants that were employed had numerous kinds of interaction with South Africans in their workplaces. Asked about the nature of interactions at work, the migrants responded in different ways. Various forms of interactions existed beyond a binary of friend or foe; hostile or convivial. Twenty (71%) of the employed respondents described their work environment as friendly. These include 11 females comprised of two working class and nine middle class respondents, and nine middle class males. However, this does imply that they did not also experience some form of hostility. For instance, Remi a middle class female stated that

Most of my colleagues are South Africans... I can say that my interactions are mostly friendly and very few unfriendly ones. There are some that I will not put as unfriendly but just people I don’t interact with... not for any reason but we are just colleagues... I have been called *Amakwerekwere* by one of the colleagues... there is this group that sits and gossips about me... In that same school there are others who are very nice... Two of them visit me at home and I also visit them (Interviewed 29/09/14).

John, a medical doctor from the middle class described his work environment as convivial; he noted that learning the local language helped to foster positive relations at his workplace. According to him,

My work colleagues and patients are accommodating... Yes the difference in culture, especially language was initially an obstacle because they found it difficult relating with me but after some time I learnt the language and this made them warm up more to me. I think learning the language made it easier to relate with them (Interviewed 24/07/14).

This contrasts with the experience of Osamudiamen a barber who mainly worked with South Africans in a salon:

It is very hostile. The South Africans I work with treat me as a nobody. They know I don't understand Zulu but they always speak it to me. They even talk about me in Zulu... There was a time my customer told me they said I must go back to my country because I am competing with them. I don't have any friends at work. They avoid me and I avoid them... But some of my customers are very wonderful. They tip me and ask me about myself... They are not friends oh. They just come cut their hair and go, I don't even know them but they are good to me (Interviewed 12/07/14).

These accounts show a mix of friendliness and hostility towards migrants within work spaces across both classes, confirming Amin's description of workplaces as sites for coming to terms with difference. Although differential exclusion does not exist as a policy in South Africa, some members of host communities have a discriminatory attitude towards migrants²³, especially at the marginal levels of the economy. This can be said to represent differential inclusion – where people in middle class professions find it easier to integrate in their work environments than those in lower paid jobs. Another finding related to the impact of cultural and geographical differences which prompted hostility from some South Africans to migrants at the work place. Remi's contact with South Africans was characterized by a mix of concord and conflict. She reported different kinds of interaction ranging from convivial, to hospitality to exclusion. Osamudiamen, who largely describes his colleagues as unfriendly also describes a hospitable relationship with customers who are not friends but event ties. He mainly experiences hostility from his state ties at work. He responded to the exclusion he experienced at the hands of his colleagues with self-exclusion. Osamudiamen's

²³ Sometimes migrants do not help the situation in the way they respond through, for example, self-exclusion.

contact with South Africans at his work place produced prejudice and exclusion. This supports Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) argument that contact can foster prejudice. In this situation, the condition that produced conflict was South Africans' perceptions that he was taking their jobs. Landau (2011) states that most South Africans view African migration as a threat to their jobs. John also initially experienced some exclusion at his workplace because of the language barrier which hindered the formation of relationships. However, rather than resorting to self-exclusion, he learnt the local language which was bridging social capital that enabled the development of relationships. This relates to assimilation which involves the adoption of the host's culture. It is consistent with Castle's (1998: 247) definition of assimilation as "a one-sided process of adaptation" where migrants adopt the culture of the host population. In John's case, contact fostered conviviality as the intimacy of contact resulted in the dissolution of hostility. The condition that made this feasible was his assimilation of South African culture which propagated friendships ties at his workplace. This was possible through bridging social capital that was formed through intimate contact. Therefore, based on this finding, bridging social capital is one of the conditions under which contact reduces prejudice across diverse groups.

Although the various accounts show that all the migrants experienced some hostility at their workplace, the level of hostility differed across both class and gender. The migrants were further asked to identify whether the nature of relations between them and South Africans were mostly friendly or mostly hostile. Sixty-four per cent of the middle class migrants and 7% of the working class migrants described their environment as mostly friendly while 29% of the working class group stated that it was mostly hostile. The mostly hostile group mainly consisted of males from the working class, which demonstrates the impact of gender and class on the nature of interaction among migrants in their host community. This is in line with Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) finding that females are more likely to develop network ties than males and that class impacts on the formation of ties.

The seven unemployed migrants were asked about their experiences while looking for work. Most of their responses show that, to a certain degree, South Africa's policies on migration are characterized by differential exclusion of migrants within the working class. Jerry, an unemployed male, stated that,

I'm jobless because of the wicked laws that prevent migrants from getting jobs. They allow professors, doctors, teachers get permanent residence and work permit because they say it is scarce skill, but we that don't have degrees, they say we steal their jobs so they won't give us ID (Interviewed 09/10/14).

Suzan, an unemployed female migrant, adds that

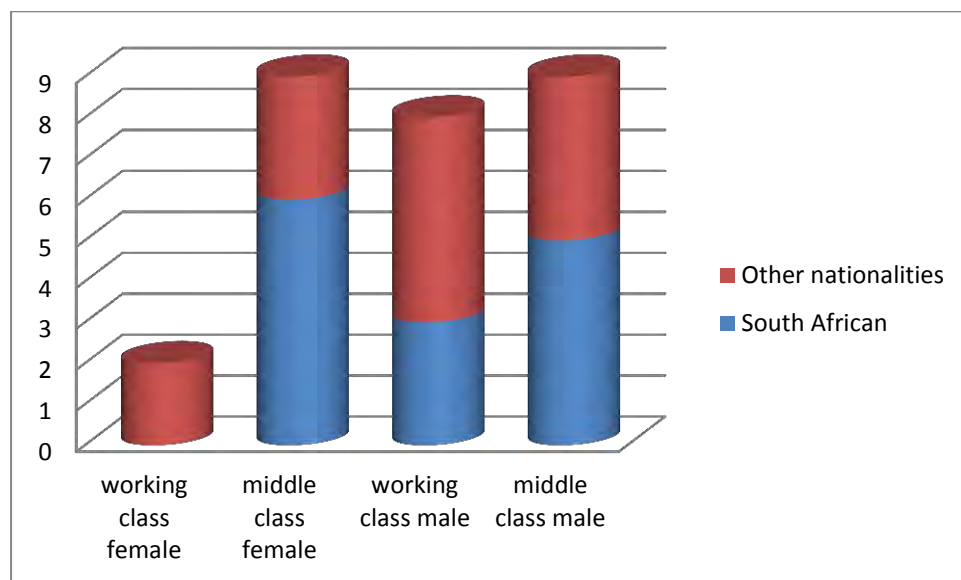
The laws here are too strict. I am a qualified clerk, but they want a South African even though I am more qualified... It is because they have many South Africans with low qualifications but at the top they don't. Foreigners who have these skills are given preferential treatment (Interviewed 13/12/14).

The findings based on the various accounts conform to Ong's (2006) argument that highly skilled migrants exist in a global assemblage where they are able to access certain rights and concessions, while less skilled migrants are excluded from this regime. In this study, Peter and John exist in this global assemblage and are cosmopolitans while Jerry, Osamudiamen and Suzan can be seen as transnationals. This is consistent with Haupt's (2010: 2) argument that migrants in privileged positions are considered cosmopolitan and those that are unprivileged are treated as unwanted migrants or transnationals. This is not, however, to suggest that transnationals experience no integration in their workplaces as they do not always experience only hostility. This study uncovered instances where transnationals experienced friendliness at work. Nonetheless, immigration laws do result in differential inclusion of skilled migrants and differential exclusion of unskilled migrants.

ii. Most important relationship at work

The 28 migrants that were employed were asked if their most important relationships at work were with other migrants or with South Africans. The figure below presents their responses.

Figure 7.7: Nationality of the most important work relationship



The findings show that the middle class group identified South Africans as their most important relationship in their work place; eight (22%) of the middle class migrants felt that these relationships were important because of the various kinds of work/business-related support they offered. Three (8%) respondents reported that the relationships were formal and not necessarily friendly beyond the office, but this did not imply that they were not important. For instance, Rebecca who is a teacher says her boss who she was acquainted with when she was unemployed, assisted her to get a job:

My boss is the most important relationship at my workplace... We are friendly at work but do not visit each other... She provided me with information and told me how to apply (for the job). I cannot say everything but she was very resourceful. Without her, I wouldn't be employed (Interviewed 27/05/14).

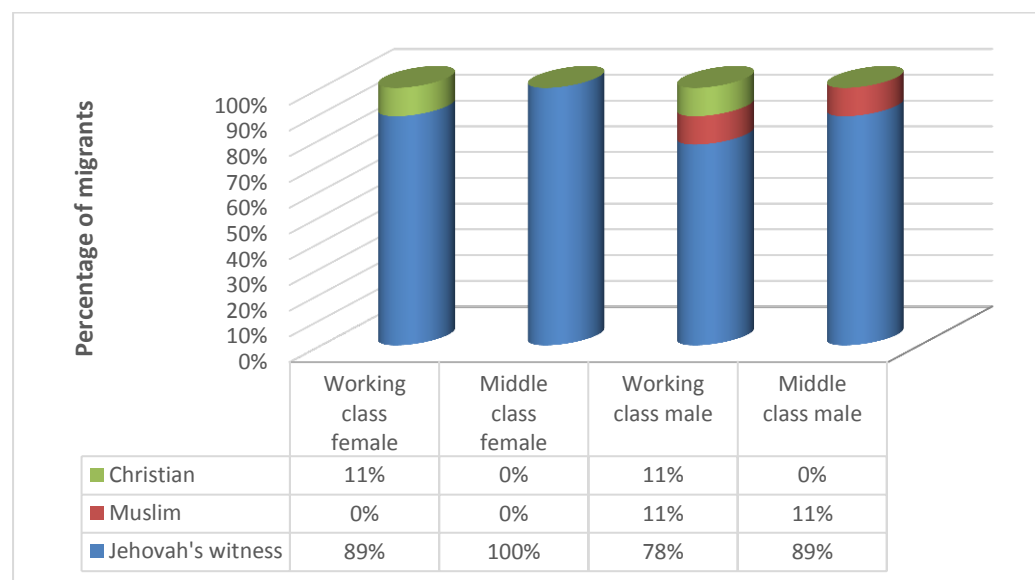
Joke states that

My business partner is my most important relationship. She is very vast in knowledge when it comes to my investments. Without her my business will crumble. We are friends but not best of friends or close, close, close. We started out as business partners and are still growing into friends. But she is very efficient (Interviewed 04/07/14).

The findings show that these migrants gained various kinds of support from these relationships, including jobs, work/business-related information and financial assistance. All these forms of support enabled their integration into the host community. The findings of the study thus reiterate that actors within a network can accrue benefits from their various ties. This is the case because of the presence of social capital, which like any other capital “is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible” (Coleman 1990: 302).

7.6.2. Faith-based organizations

Figure 7.8: Religion of migrants



As shown in the figure above, most of the migrants practiced Christianity. A total of 32 were Christians, comprising 15 males and 17 females. Amongst the males, seven were from the working class group, while the other eight were middle class males. The females comprised of eight middle class and nine working class migrants. There were only two male

Muslims, one from each of the groups. Two Jehovah Witnesses, a middle class male and middle class female, were also identified. The migrants did not experience hostility in their various faith-based organizations; rather, they attested that their organizations propagated Pan-Africanism, as in the case of Omo (see Chapter six).

Joan, a working class, unemployed female says that

I met my closest friend who is a South African by the way, in church. She has become a sister to me. She supports me financially and emotionally. When I have problems she is the first person that I call (Interviewed 10/08/14).

Musa, a self-employed Muslim states that

In the Muslim faith, everyone is a child of Allah and there is no discrimination. We pray together and share our beliefs. I would be lying if I said I have been treated differently in the mosque (Interviewed 15/05/14).

Although five middle class males indicated that they are not regular attenders of their faith-based organizations due to their work commitments leave them with no time to do so, none of the other respondents reported that they were treated differently in their various religious settings. What conditions within the faith-based organizations enabled intergroup contact to foster conviviality? The religious setting was a typical site where the idea of pan-Africanism, a universal sense of identity that supersedes individual identity, fostered conviviality and entanglement. Contact within these sites was characterized by cooperation and a sense of equality. These conditions created unity that enabled these types of relationships to evolve. The various faith-based organizations were therefore platforms for bridging differences. This is significant, especially in Tracy's church setting, where wearing one's national attire on a specific day is a platform for both celebrating differences and promoting unity, even though it paradoxically displays differences. This is consistent with Gilroy's (2004) view of conviviality and Nuttall's (2009) view on entanglement that notes that there are sites of interaction where people do not prioritise differences even though they exist. Gilroy (2004: ix) states that this interaction opens up the boundaries of cultural differences. It is clear from the interviews that the Nigerian migrants and South Africans interact in their various religious settings across differences and cultural boundaries and their faith and beliefs act as a bridge to these differences, thereby creating social capital amongst them. This speaks to Nuttall's (2009: 1) description of entanglement as "a condition of being twisted together or

entwined, involved with; it speaks of an intimacy gained, even if it was resisted, or ignored or uninvited”.

7.6.3. Neighbourhoods

The respondents were asked about their experiences in their neighbourhoods. Their responses showed mixed forms of interaction with their neighbours. For some, there were both friendly and hostile interactions. For example, Kome, a working class male who resides in an apartment, narrated an experience with one of his neighbours:

They play loud music especially at night without taking into consideration how this disrupts my sleep... I had an altercation with them when I complained to them. It was a bad experience. One of them said I must go back to my cockroach hole and stop complaining... Not all of them are xenophobic; there are others that are polite and friendly. So I would say friendly and unfriendly (Interviewed 17/06/14).

Moses, also a working class migrant said;

I cannot really say my neighbours are friendly or not. We usually keep to ourselves... I don't think it is because I'm a Nigerian but that's the way our neighbourhood is... (Interviewed 26/05/14).

Tracy, a middle class female who resides in a residential estate stated that:

My neighbour is quite friendly, we have a common braai area where we meet and socialise and our kids are also friends. It's more like a community. I have a South African neighbour who I help babysit her kids when she is stranded. There is another one who visits every now and then. When they have parties I am invited and I attend (Interviewed 03/08/14).

In Kome's case, spatial proximity or contact did not translate to social proximity. Rather during a confrontation with his neighbour, it exacerbated xenophobic sentiments. However in Tracy's case, contact with her neighbours resulted in conviviality and entanglement. Moses' situation was neutral due to minimal contact with his neighbours which did not evolve to conviviality or hostility. The findings also show that other social factors, such as type of residential area, also determined how friendly or hostile residential spaces can be. For Tracy,

living in a residential estate in close proximity to South Africans, enabled the formation of state ties that were instrumental in generating social capital to bridge. However, in the case of Moses, who did not experience hostility or conviviality, his neighbourhood relationship could be described as neutral in the sense that there was little or no interaction with others. On the other hand, Kome experienced both friendly and unfriendly interactions. These different experiences show the diverse nature of ties that exist within the migrants' networks.

7.6.4. Friendship ties

The study also explored the existence and nature of friendship ties between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. The respondents were asked if they had mostly, few or no South Africans as friends; the table below shows their responses.

Table 7.5: Migrants' friendship ties with South Africans

Class	Mostly South African Friends	Few South African Friends	No South African Friends
Middle class females	7	2	0
Middle class males	6	3	0
Working class females	4	4	1
Working class males	2	4	3

The findings show that the majority of the migrants had mostly South Africans as members of their state ties network. Of the 36 migrants sampled, 19 (53%) stated that they had mostly South African friends. As Table 7.2 above shows, the females from both class groups had more South Africans as friends than the males. The females summed up to 11 (31%), more than the eight (22%) males.

When this data was cross-checked against migrants' duration of stay in South Africa, it was found that those that had been living in the country for a longer period of time had more South Africa friends. Of the group which had mostly South African friends, 18 had resided in

South Africa for eight years or more. They consisted of three working class females, two working class males, seven middle class females and six middle class males. Only one working class female from this group had resided in South Africa for between four and seven years. Those with few South African friends consisted of eight Nigerians who had resided in South Africa for four to seven years. They included one middle class female, one middle class male, four working class females and two working class males. In addition, four of those with few South African friends, comprising two middle class males and two working class males, had lived in South Africa for eight years or more. Only one middle class female from this group had resided in the country for three years or less. Those with no South African friends comprised three working class males, of who two had resided in South Africa for four to seven years and one for three years or less. One working class female who had been in the country for three years or less reported that she had no South African friends. Those with few South African friends consisted of two working class males who had been in the country for four to seven years, and a working class male and working class female who had lived in South Africa for three or less years, and four to seven years, respectively. It is clear that the majority (18 out of 19) of those who had more South African friends within their networks had the longest duration of stay. Eight of the 13 migrants that had few South African friends had resided in the country for four to seven years, while those with no South African friends had been in South Africa for four to seven years or less. Thus, in line with Dominguez and Maya-Jariego's (2008) findings, the current study shows that duration of residence can influence the formation of ties with members of the host community.

Furthermore, the females in both the middle and working class groups reported that the fact that they had mostly South African friends has to do with the nature of their work and the fact that there are more South Africans around them than other nationalities. For example, according to Tracy from the middle class,

there are more South Africans than other nationality and it is only reasonable that I would have more South African friends. My kind of work makes me see the same people over a long time. These people I see are mostly South Africans. We have to work together and travel together. I can say if my analogy is right (laughs) that it is from this environment that most of my friendship networks are created (Interviewed 08/08/14).

Joan from the working class adds that,

Well, I make friends with most South Africans because I need to understand the lifestyle here. When I came I was so used to Nigerian food and I didn't even understand the system here. It is my South African friends that helped me settle down and know my way around. See, I sell African attires both South African and Nigerian. My friend Ntombi introduced me to the suppliers of these goods... In a nut shell, I have more South African friends because I need them for my business to survive (Interviewed 10/08/14).

It is also clear that the nature of friendship ties that exist within the migrants' networks is gendered. This is consistent with Miguel and Tranmer's (2009: 11) study that found that more host members were present in the social networks of female immigrants than in those of their male counterparts. They argue that this is the case because the environment in which female migrants interact with members of the host community is usually a more relaxed setting compared to the restrictive and formal environment of the males (Miguel and Tranmer 2009). However, irrespective of gender, networks with host communities are paramount to migrants' integration, whether economically or socially. Joan's encounter exemplifies this reality. This is in line with Berry's (1997) work which showed that extending migrants' networks to include members of the host community enables their successful integration.

However, South Africans did not dominate all the migrant respondents' friendship ties. Thirteen (36%) of these migrants reported that, while they had South African friends, they were outnumbered by their Nigerian friends. Nedu, a working class male, responded that

I think the reason why I have very few South African friends is because they find it difficult trusting me. Once they know that I'm a Nigerian they immediately change their attitude towards me... But this does not mean the few ones I have are not important. They are very important. My best friend is among the lot; my girlfriend is also one of them. I just have more Nigerian friends maybe too many (Interviewed 29/12/14).

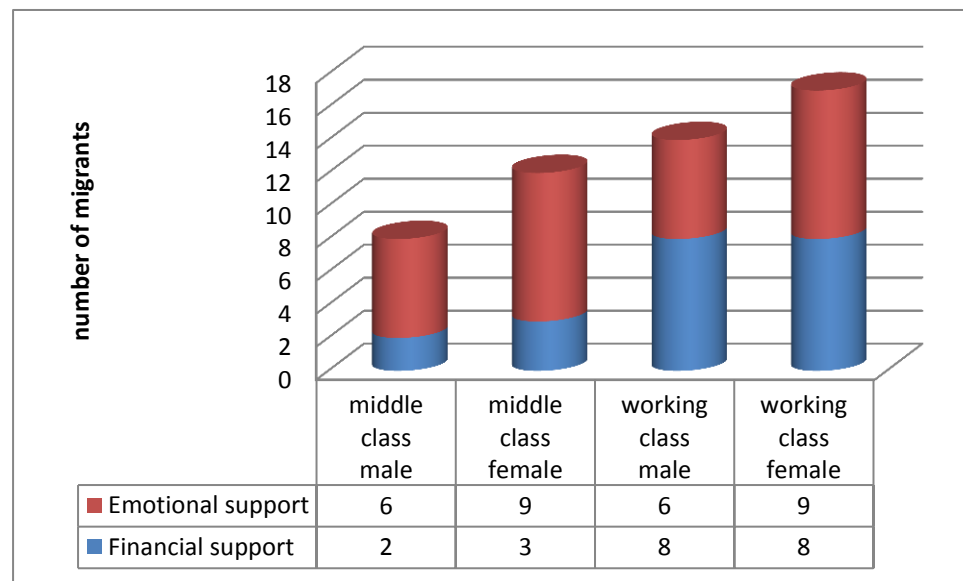
In addition, four (11%) of the migrants, all from the working class, stated that they have no South African friends. Asked why this was the case, they cited cultural differences and South Africans' stereotypes of Nigerians. Musa asks,

how can we be friends to (with) people that do not love us? They see us as criminals and backward people because we cannot click our tongue or speak their language. My friends are people from other countries, like Congo, Rwanda and Cameroon. Because they understand we are brothers, we are Africans. South Africans are only brothers to those who speak their language (Interviewed 15/05/14).

Both Nedu and Musa's contact with South Africans influenced the nature of their friendship ties. Nedu had few South African friends and Musa had none because of the stereotypes held by both groups. These stereotypes made them perceive the other as inferior, thereby propagating the "us" and "them" divide. This clearly shows that when equal status is lacking in intergroup contact, prejudice tends to evolve (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

The study also explored whether migrants that had friendship ties with South Africans obtained any form of support from their friends within their networks and investigated if this support enabled their integration. It found that the migrants received various forms of support from their South African friends. These were classified as financial and emotional support. Only two (6%) migrants with South African friends within their network stated that they had not received support from them. The other 30 (83%) stated that they had received either financial or emotional support and in some cases both. The figure below illustrates the type of support received by the migrants.

Figure 7.9: Nature of support from South African friendship ties



The middle class group received more emotional than financial support. This took the form of advice, care, consolation and friendly gestures to make them feel comfortable.

According to Wale from the working class,

My South African friends are like my backbone in this country. They have become family. Most decisions that I make are a reflection of their various views on the subject (Interviewed 16/08/14).

Those in the middle class who stated that they received financial support described this as loans for businesses, jobs and information regarding their various investments or careers. Conversely, among the working class group, financial support was rated higher than emotional support. However, the difference between emotional and financial support was quite minimal. Migrants among this group described financial assistance as shelter, jobs, money, food and clothing. Emotional assistance was described as advice, concern, affection and warmth. It is evident that although the level of support among those with South African friends differed, irrespective of class, the majority of the migrants gained some form of social capital from members of the host community. As it is an on-going process, such support promotes their economic and social integration into the host community. This is consistent with Dominguez and Maya-Jariego's (2008) study that found that the heterogeneity of migrants' networks due to the presence of members of the host community not only leads to the development of support relationships that foster their integration but also promotes

acculturation. By implication, friendship ties led to acculturation which blurs social boundaries. Similarly as Macy et al's (2003) study shows, the more diversity there is amongst people who interact, the more similar they perceive themselves to be and this leads to the development of homophily amongst them. The current study's findings show the presence of homophily in the friendship ties between these different groups of different nationalities. Despite their nationalities, through frequent and sustained interaction, these groups soon discover that they are sufficiently similar to sustain a relationship and this takes homophily in a new direction. This point is linked to the notion of the unboundedness of culture. As noted earlier, it is not feasible to contain culture in order to maintain homogeneity (Bhabha 2009). This implies that culture is an ever-developing plane, and it is possible that cultural differences among diverse groups can dissolve into a broader sense of similarity. As Bostanci (2009: 2) puts it, "culture is a continually developing performance and cannot, as such, be seen as an absolute or essential entity..."

7.6.5. Kinship Ties

The study found four instances of kinship ties which took the form of marriages between Nigerian male migrants and South African women. Three were from the middle class, and one from the working class. Asked how being an African migrant influenced their relationships with their in-laws, there were various responses. For Toju a middle class migrant,

Being a Nigerian is like being a *Skembengo* (crook) by nature. When I met my wife I was treated like a nobody. My mother in-law hated me. But after some time, when she got to know me, we became very close... I am like the golden boy of the family now (Interviewed 24/07/14).

Osayi had a similar experience:

Of course being a migrant moreover, a Nigerian, impacts on my relationship with my wife's people. They hated me but with time they came to understand that Nigerians are not bad people... They now understand our culture and my wife eats our food. In fact *jollof rice*²⁴ is her best food... my wife did not trust

²⁴ A Nigerian dish

me when we first met. She liked me but the Nigerian factor made her afraid... This changed after she got to know me (Interviewed 22/06/14).

Furthermore, these four migrants had children with their South African wives. Three stated that their children exhibit hybrid traits. Shola's children, discussed in Chapter nine, are an example. However, Osayi's children did not exhibit these traits. He stated that,

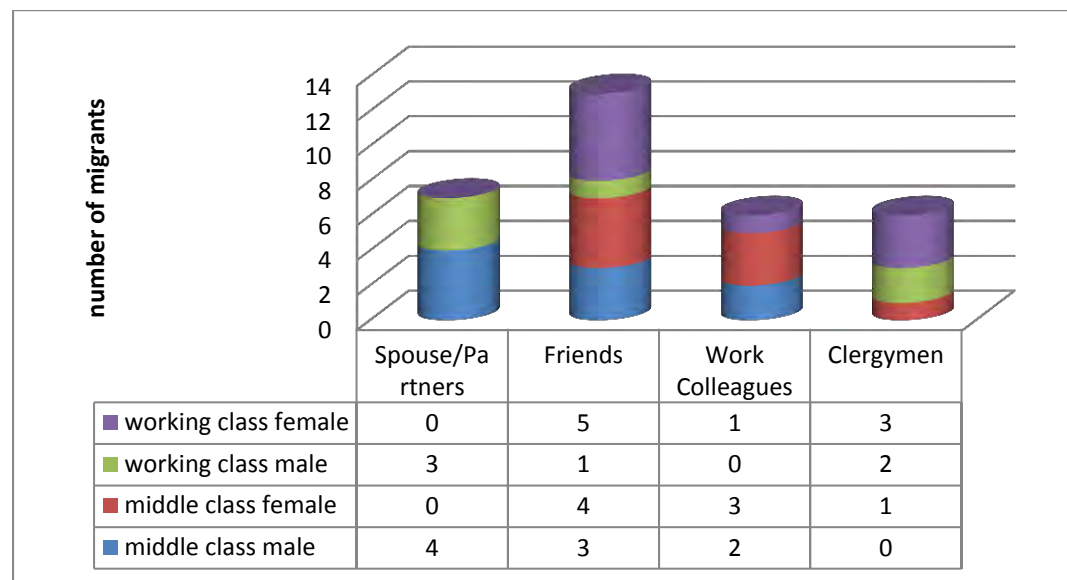
My children are more South Africans...I say this because they are not exposed to the Nigerian culture; they are just Nigerian by birth. I am the only Nigerian influence they have and because I am not always around them and they are not in the Nigerian environment, they haven't picked up my culture. To worsen things my wife has refused to allow them visit for her own reasons. At least they understand the Zulu culture (Interviewed 10/08/14).

Every account showed a similar trend of initial non-acceptance of Nigerian spouses by their South African in-laws and in Osayi's case, his wife. However, following close interaction, they became more accepting of these migrant spouses. In these cases, intimate intergroup contact was the condition that made kinship ties evolve. After more informal interaction, South Africans accepted the Nigerian men as members of their family. In this context, marriage was the tool used as bridging social capital. As Granovetter (1983) explains, this is necessary in ties characterized by relative trust among strangers. Marriage has been described as an indicator of interactive integration, where migrants are included in the primary relationships of the host society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006: 10). Gsir (2014) labels a marriage between a migrant and a host member as exogamy because it involves marriage between socially and culturally diverse groups. Kantarevic (2004) further explains that exogamy has social implications for the migrants and the host community (cited in Gsir 2014: 6). As shown in the current study, one of these implications is the integration of migrants through kinship ties. This is the case because marrying a South African in a way increased the migrants' social contacts with members of the host community. Another implication is having hybrid children which helps to blur social boundaries between the Nigerians and South Africans. It could be inferred that marriage, which leads to exogamy and

the formation of kinship ties and hybrids, is also one of the conditions that enabled prejudice to evolve to conviviality across diversity.

7.6.6. Most important South African tie

Figure 7.10: Categories of most important South African tie



The migrants were asked to identify their most important South African tie and explain the nature of this relationship. Name-generator questions were used to explore the migrants' personal networks and the characteristics of the ties; measure for reciprocity with their alters; and determine their perceptions of African migration. The most important ties are in four categories as shown in the figure above. The findings show that the respondents' most important relationships were all state ties. These include relationships with spouses/partners, friends, work colleagues and clergy. Seven (19%) of the migrants identified their most important South African ties as those with their spouses/partners. This group was made up of four middle class and three working class males. For example, Osayi, a middle class migrant married to a South African says that,

My wife is the closest to me. She is my backbone. Yes I am successful today but she is the main reason. Not just because she legitimised my stay but because she has been a friend and comfort to me. My business thrives because of her support (Interviewed 29/08/14).

Asked why these ties were the most important, the migrants responded that they gain financial and affective support from their spouses.

As Figure 7.10 shows, 13 (36%) migrants stated that their most important ties were with friends. They comprised three middle class males, four middle class females, one working class male and five working class females. It was found that these were mostly affective relationships and the kinds of support gained were generally advice, affection and financial assistance. According to Joan a working class female migrant,

My best friend Lian is the most important South African relationship. We have been friends for over five years. She helps me financially and gives me marital advice... Being different has not ruined our friendship. We are not so different *sef* [pidgin English word which means in truth]... We are all Africans. There is no difference between Zulus and us. When you get to know the cultures you would see the similarity (Interviewed 10/08/14).

The findings show that friendship ties between migrants and members of the host community were instrumental in bridging social differences and creating a sense of homogeneity due to acculturation, as seen in the case of Joan. Facchini et al (2015: 621) state that “friendship with natives tends to result in greater similarity with them along several important dimensions.” Migrants who have friendship ties with South Africans not only integrate, but also demonstrate the dissolution of cultural boundaries due to the presence of this type of tie in their networks. This is the case because these friendships give “opportunities for better reciprocal knowledge and brings migrants and natives closer allowing the exchanges of socio-cultural codes, practices, languages, etc. It can also reduce mutual prejudice...” (Gsir 2014). The females had more friendship ties as their most important tie than the males. This is consistent with Miguel and Tranmer’s (2009) argument that female migrants are more disposed to have host members within their personal networks due to the kinds of activities they engage in and the people they meet through such activities.

The other most important relationships identified in the study were ties with South African work colleagues. Work places are known spaces which foster interaction and the formation of ties between migrants and host members. In the middle class group, five (13%) migrants,

comprising of two males and three females, stated that their most important relationship was with work colleagues. One (3%) female (Remi) from the working class group identified her boss as her most important relationship. According to her,

My boss is my most important relationship. She is responsible for my success. I am able to work and feed my family because of the role she played in my employment. She fought for me to be employed. I value her though we are not very friendly, just business as usual, but I owe her a lot. She made my stay possible (Interviewed 09/07/14).

The respondents were asked why this tie was important and most responded that it was because of the affective, informative and material forms of support that they gained. As in Remi's case, this tie was not always friendly but this did not necessarily imply that it was a weak tie because of the support gained from this social capital.

Finally, some of the respondents identified their ties with their clergy as their most important relationship. This group consisted of six (17%) of the respondents, including one middle class female, three working class females and two working class males. These respondents described these relationships as informal and supportive. Omo who identified her pastor as her most important relationship explains that,

...I would say my pastor. She is important because she assists me financially. For instance she paid for my accommodation until I could stand on my feet. She calls me and advises me. If she has any menial jobs I do them and she pays me. So she is the important one (Interviewed 14/08/14).

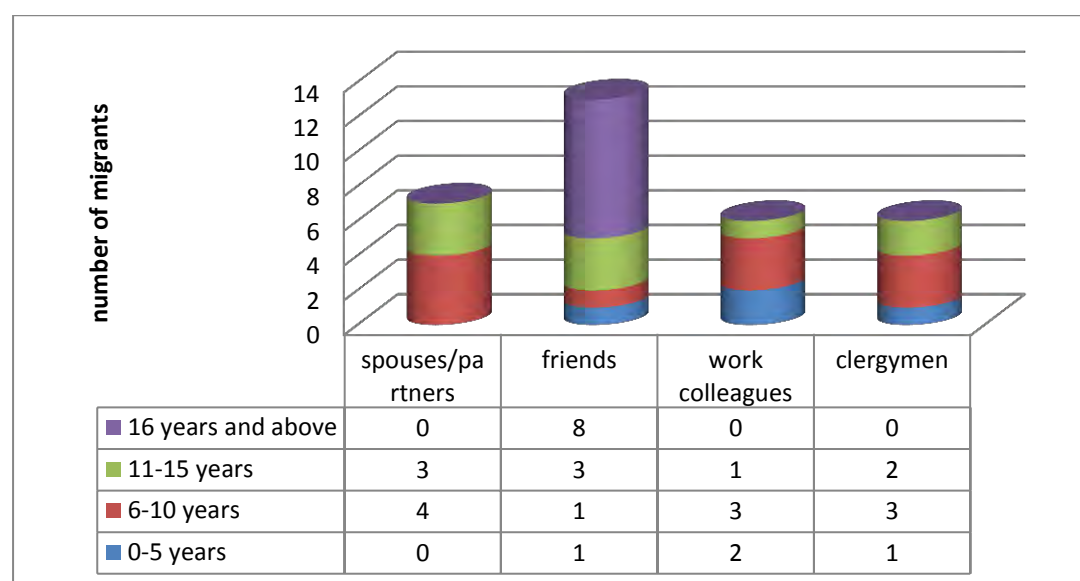
However four (11%) migrants stated that they did not have any most important South African within their personal networks. They included one middle class female and three working class males. This does not imply that they do not have ties with South Africans, but that they do not attach great importance to them. Three of these respondents said that this is due to the fact that South Africans are not friendly towards them and one stated that she mixes more with other Nigerian migrants and tries to avoid South Africans as much as possible. Asked why this was the case, Ifeanyi, a working class male stated that,

South Africans are very different sets of human beings. They do not have value for life. Humans are like animals to them. There are things they do that are culturally unacceptable in our place. Their women are so loose... Even married women do not fear their matrimony, and sleep around. I don't need such people around me and my children (Interviewed 03/09/14).

This group of migrants experience exclusion, not only as a response by members of the host community but as a self-imposed strategy due to their various stereotypes of South Africans, as shown in Ifeanyi's response. For them, the negative culture of South Africans must be avoided by staying separate from them, especially at the level of developing state type of ties. Berry (2005: 705) explains that in this situation, "individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others." He explains that "individuals may withdraw from the acculturation arena" in order to do away with differences that are unacceptable to them (Berry 2005: 708). As seen in other cases, contact here also fuelled exclusion and the demarcation of the in-group and out-group. This was due to the fact that, as in Ifeanyi's case, the contact was not characterized by equal status. Ifeanyi held stereotypes of South Africans.

7.6.7. Duration of tie

Figure 7.11: Duration of tie



The respondents were asked to state the duration of their most important tie, that is, how long they had had ties with their most important alter. Their responses were coded in different ranges. Of the seven ties with spouses, four had lasted for six to 10 years and three for 11-15 years. Friendship ties had the longest duration; one had a duration of five years or less, one had lasted for six to 11 years, three had persisted for 11-15 years and eight had lasted 16-20 years. In terms of ties with work colleagues, two had a duration of five years or less, three had lasted six to 10 years and only one has endured for 11-15 years. Turning to ties with clergy, one had lasted five years or less, three for six-10 years and two for 11-15 years. The duration of ties is important in order to understand the nature of networks. An important finding here is that those migrants who did not identify any most important ties had a shorter duration of stay in South Africa compared to those who had South Africans as their most important tie. Of the four that did not identify a most important tie, one working class male and one middle class male had been living in South Africa for less than three years, which was the shortest duration of stay identified in the study, while the other two working class males had resided in the country for approximately five years. This supports Lubber et al's (2009) argument that the duration of migrants' stay in the host community impacts not only the formation of networks but how they evolve.

7.7. Discussion of findings and conclusion

This chapter highlighted the demographic profile of the Nigerian migrants that participated in the study in terms of age, educational qualifications, class and gender. In terms of age, the majority (34 of the 36 respondents) were above 30 years with the remaining two below 30. In terms of educational qualifications, the majority (16 out of 18) of the middle class migrants had tertiary education while only three of the working class migrants had tertiary qualifications. Turning to gender, a good number (seven out of nine) of the working class females were unemployed, in contrast to their middle class female counterparts who were all employed. All in all, there was a link between educational qualifications and the class of migrants and these cut across both genders.

The chapter also examined the drivers of Nigerians' migration to South Africa. These include political crises in Nigeria, and the desire to study or join a spouse, and seeking employment. The findings show that the majority of the migrants were driven by economic factors. The

formation and nature of networks from the perspective of the migrants were also explored. The findings show that different types of relationship ties exist between Nigerian migrants and South Africans resident in Empangeni and that most migrants interacted with South Africans across various sites in their everyday lives. These include workplaces, places of worship and neighbourhoods.

The findings also show that the Nigerian migrants exhibit self-exclusion, assimilation and entanglement in their responses. Contact between Nigerians and South Africans paradoxically produced conviviality and entanglement, and hostility and exclusion, which invariably shaped the nature of the migrants' social networks. The factors identified in the study that fostered conviviality include pan-Africanism (cooperation towards a common goal), assimilation (due to the equal status of intergroup contact), and frequent intimate intergroup contacts. On the other hand, irrespective of contact, South Africans were hostile to the Nigerian migrants. The response of hostility and prejudice is consistent with the commonly held belief that relationships between South Africans and African migrants are essentially hostile and xenophobic. However, alongside xenophobia, there is also acceptance, hospitality, financial support, emotional support, mentorship and love. Gsir (2014) explains that relationships and interactions between migrants and members of the host society can occur in private and public contexts, although strong ties usually grow within the private context of migrants. He explains that the private context "is the place for strong bonds of a family type, for friendship or even professional relations" (Gsir 2014: 3). This argument supports the findings of the current study as the migrants had spaces which were supportive of the formation of convivial relationships which can promote integration. However, this does not imply that there were no bumps on the road to integration as migrants from both the middle and working classes experienced hostility and exclusion in some of their interactions at their workplaces and neighbourhoods. Interactions in their work environments showed a mix of friendliness and hostility across both genders. Although there were other types of interactions outside their workplaces that may impact on this, the working class group experienced more hostility than the middle class group. For those that were unemployed, class also impacted on their economic integration. Nineteen per cent of the migrants that were unemployed felt that they could not get jobs due to the immigration policies which are in a way characterized as differential, exclusive policies because they encourage the migration of skilled migrants and exclude those that are unskilled. This supports Haupt's

(2010) argument that skilled migrants are perceived as cosmopolitans while unskilled ones are seen as transnationals who should be excluded.

Another finding of the study is the presence of state ties within the majority of the migrants' networks. The egos had state ties with South Africans which were friendship and kinship ties. More than half (53%) of the migrants sampled had more friendships with South Africans than with any other nationality. The various reasons include the higher frequency of interaction with South Africans and the value of the relationship in enabling them to integrate socially and economically into the host community. Thirty-six per cent of the respondents had South Africans as friends but had more Nigerian than South African friends. They stated that this was because South Africans do not trust them. There were also a few (11%) who had no South African friends, with the reasons including cultural differences and South Africans' stereotypes of Nigerians and vice versa, which hindered the formation of friendship ties.

In terms of gender, as shown in Table 7.3, female migrants had more friendship ties with South Africans within their personal networks than their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) argument that female immigrants are more disposed to have host members within their personal networks due to the kinds of activities they engage in and the people they meet through such activities. This study also showed that migrants had very few kinship ties with South Africans and that these were mainly within the personal networks of males. For example, they were prevalent amongst males who married South African women. It could thus be inferred that females are less likely to develop kinship ties through marriage than males. This is the case because female migrants are more likely to migrate for marital reasons and would thus already be married. Indeed, as Balan (1981: 228) explains, women are usually secondary movers who are motivated by primary movers. As shown in this study, in most cases, the primary movers were male spouses. In the cases of males married to South Africans, marriage was a bridging social capital in blurring differences between them and some of their South African relatives by marriage. Kantarevic (2004) describes this as exogamy which has social implications for the migrants and their host community (cited in Gsir 2014: 6). As shown in this study, one of these implications is the integration of migrants through kinship ties and hybrid children that also help to blur social boundaries between Nigerians and South Africans. In respect to these egos with

kinship ties with South Africans, the study revealed that they responded differently in terms of the cultural implications of having hybrid children. Three of the four did not mind hybridity. However, one, Osayi, did not like the fact that his children were not being raised in his culture.

The nature of the linkages identified in the migrants' networks was mostly supportive. The study uncovered the various forms of support provided by South Africans to the egos within their personal networks which also aided their integration into the host community. The types of support the egos gained from their alters depended on the type of tie. For example, those with state ties received both emotional and financial support but the former was more prominent. This is the case because of the affective and informal nature of the tie. In all cases of those who had ties with South Africans, the support they gained from these ties was instrumental in their integration into the host society. This concurs with Berry's (1997) argument that for migrants to integrate successfully into their host community, they need support from people not only within their homogenous group, but from the host community. The study revealed that through the migrants' ties with South Africans; they were able to build bridges to foster both social and economic integration, as shown in Joke and Wale's cases.

Finally, the study investigated the most important relationship with a South African within the migrants' personal networks. It revealed that the most important dyadic tie identified by the migrants was different kinds of state ties which include relationships with spouse/partners, friends, colleagues and clergy. It was important to examine these dyadic ties as this revealed the nature of the relationships, that is, whether they were symmetrical or asymmetrical ties. Ties with spouses/partners were mainly emotional ties and the kinds of support the migrants gained were mostly affective in the form of advice, affection and financial assistance. Migrants that identified their most important relationships as those with work colleagues and clergy received different types of support such as information and resources. These alters offered the egos different types of support, including financial resources, employment and advice. However, not all the migrants identified an important tie with a South African. This group argued that South Africans were not friendly towards them and they preferred to relate to people of their own nationality. They were not only recipients

of exclusion but also adopted self-exclusion as a response to members of the host community. It could be inferred that those that had a greater South African presence in their personal networks and a South African as their most important tie, irrespective of the type of tie, showed a higher level of integration into the host community than those that did not. Homophily is a likely characteristic of migrant networks, but, as Berry's (1997) study shows, having alters that cut across diversity has the added advantage of the ego's integration into the host community. The current study revealed that through the migrants' ties with South Africans, they were able to build bridges which enabled their social and economic integration. While not all migrants have South Africans within their networks, most do and these South Africans have in many ways enabled their integration into the host community.

CHAPTER 8: SOUTH AFRICANS' TIES WITH AFRICAN MIGRANTS

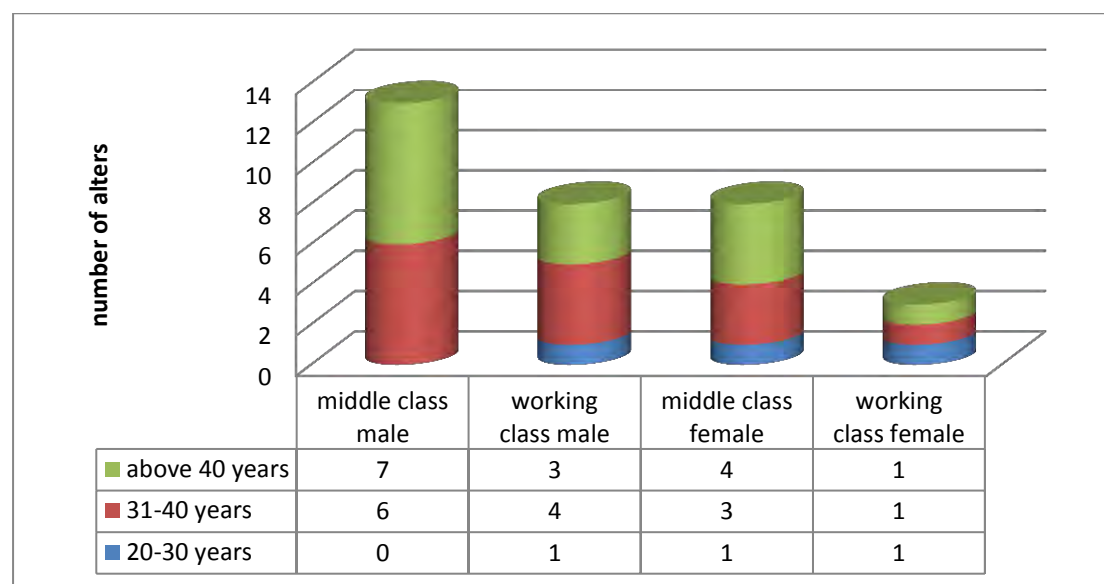
Since one of the aims of the study was to examine the nature of the linkages in the various networks between Nigerian migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze Municipality, it was important to examine these relationships not only from the one-sided view of the egos (Nigerians) but also from that of the alters (South Africans)²⁵. This chapter analyses the nature of relations between South Africans and the Nigerian migrants based on the empirical findings generated from the interviews with South Africans within the networks of the Nigerian migrants. It presents the results and findings and provides a systematic explanation of these findings. The data analyzed in this chapter was generated through qualitative interviews with the alters (South Africans) identified by the Nigerian migrants as their most important South African relationship. Name generator questions were used in the interview guide for the migrants to identify these respondents. Only 32 South Africans were sampled, as four Nigerian migrants did not identify any most important relationship with South Africans. Pseudonyms are used to protect the alters' identity.

8.1. Demographic profile of South African respondents

The demographic profile of the participants is discussed according to the various questions in the interview schedule.

8.1.1. Age

Figure 8.1: Age of the South African alters

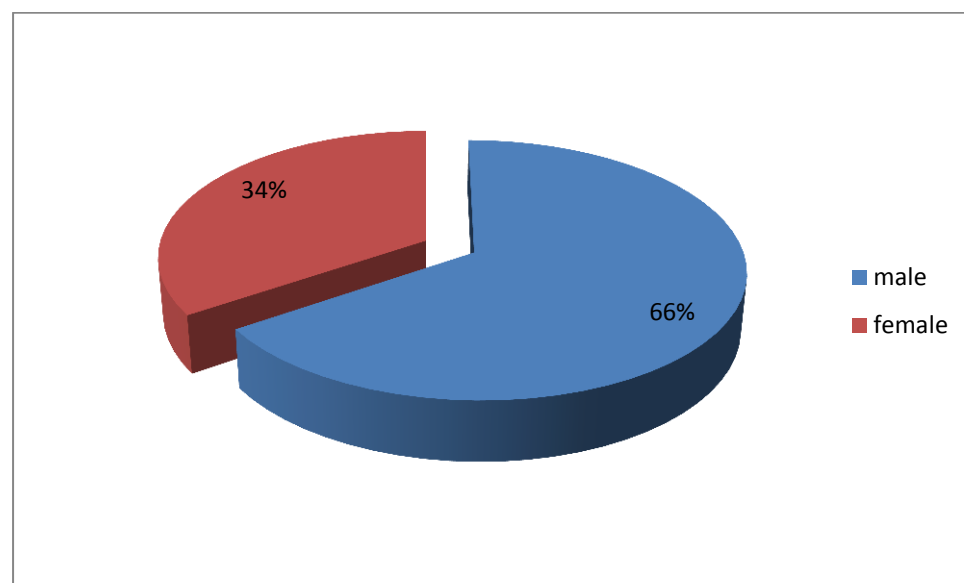


²⁵The terms alters and South Africans are used interchangeably in this chapter.

As the above figure shows 15 (47%) of the alters were over the age of 40. They included seven middle class males, three working class males, four middle class females and one working class female. This group had more males than females. Fourteen (44%) of the alters fell within the age range 31-40. These included six middle class males, four working class males, three middle class females and one working class female. Only three (9%) of the South African alters were aged 20-30 and comprised one working class male, one middle class female and one working class female. Thus, it can be inferred that the important South Africans identified by the sample were mainly between the ages of 41 and 50 and very few were younger than 30.

8.1.2. Gender

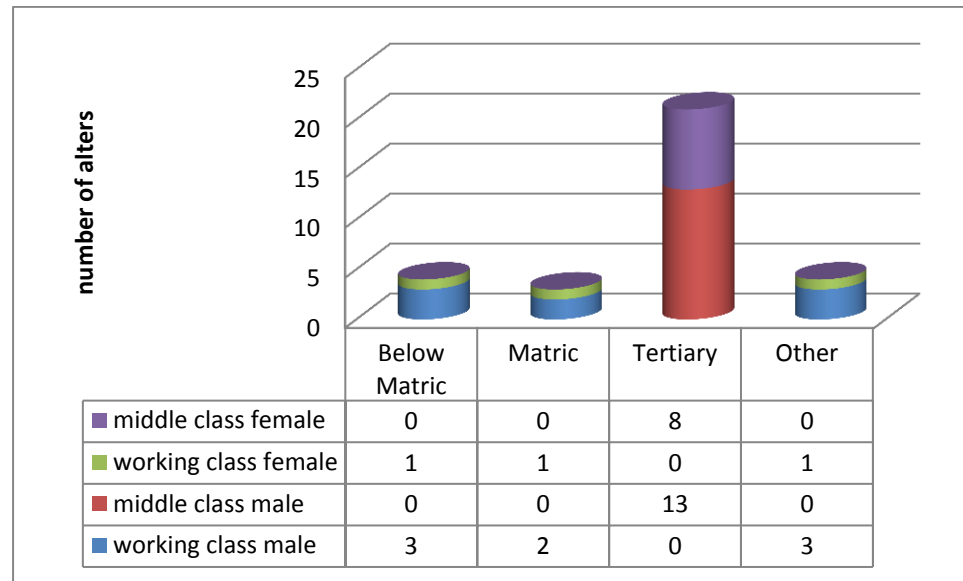
Figure 8.2: Gender of alters



Of the 32 South Africans sampled, 21 (66%) were male and 11 (34%) were female. The males included 13 middle class and eight working class males, while the females comprised eight middle class and three working class females. Thus, the majority of the migrants identified males as their most important relationship in South Africa.

8.1.3. Education

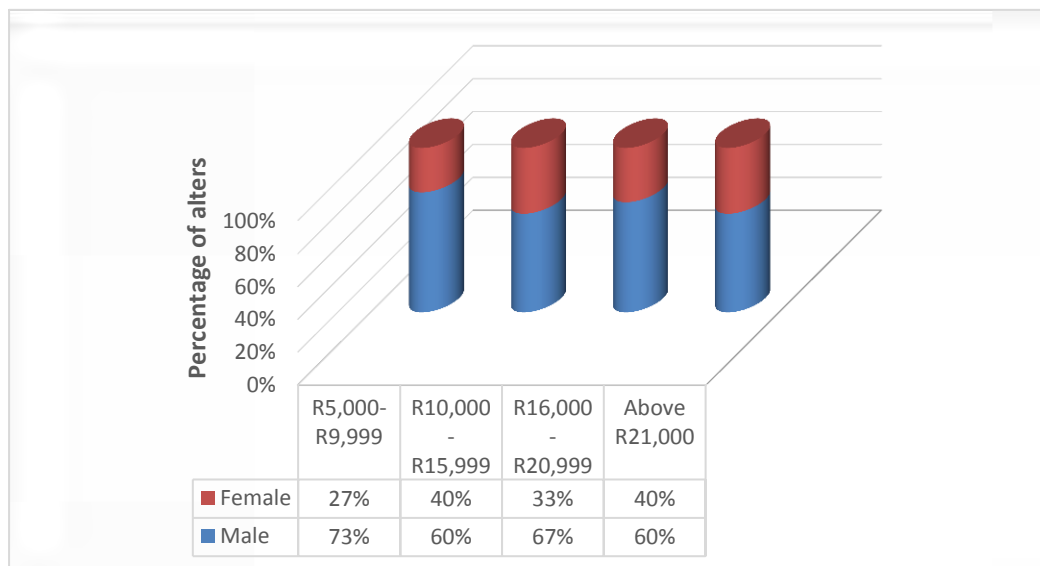
Figure 8.3: Academic background of the alters



The findings show that most alters had tertiary qualifications from various universities. This group consisted of total of 21 (66%) alters, made up of 13 middle class males and eight middle class females. All the alters with tertiary qualifications were thus from the middle class group. On the other hand, those with academic qualifications below tertiary level were working class alters. Only four (13%) had lower qualifications than matric, made up of three working class males and one working class female. A further three (9%) had matric; including two working males and one working class female. Finally, four (13%) alters, comprising three working class males and one working class female, stated that they had other qualifications which were mostly informal training related to hairdressing and tailoring. From these data, it can be inferred that that the important South Africans identified by the sample tend to be well educated. This corroborates Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) findings that most of the alters within the migrants' network were educated. Studies such as those by Constant et al (2008) and Croucher (2009) argue that highly qualified and skilled members of host communities are more prone to interaction with immigrants irrespective of cultural diversities. Education is therefore an important element of integration.

8.1.4. Income

Figure 8.4: Income of the alters



The monthly income of the alters is presented in the figure above. Of the 32 alters sampled, 11 (35%), consisting of eight males and three females earned between R5, 000 and R9, 999 per month. Ten (31%) alters, consisting of six males and four females earned between R10, 000 and R15, 999. Six (19%), four males and two females had an income of between R16, 000 and R20, 999 and only five (16%), made up of three males and two females earned above R21, 000 per month. Those that earned R9, 999 and below were classified as working class alters while those above this range were labelled middle class alters. The findings show that the majority of the alters were middle class earners. This group consisted of 21 (66%) alters; 13 males and eight females. The working class alters were fewer in number. It is therefore clear that the important South African ties identified in this study were mostly middle class earners.

In comparing the income of egos and their corresponding alters, the findings show that most middle class migrants (14 out of 18) had alters in the middle class as their most important South Africans ties. Similarly, eight of 15 of the working class migrants identified working class South Africans as their most important South African ties and the remaining seven migrants cited middle class South Africans. This indicates that the bonds between egos and alters occurred more frequently across income bands in the working class than in the middle class.

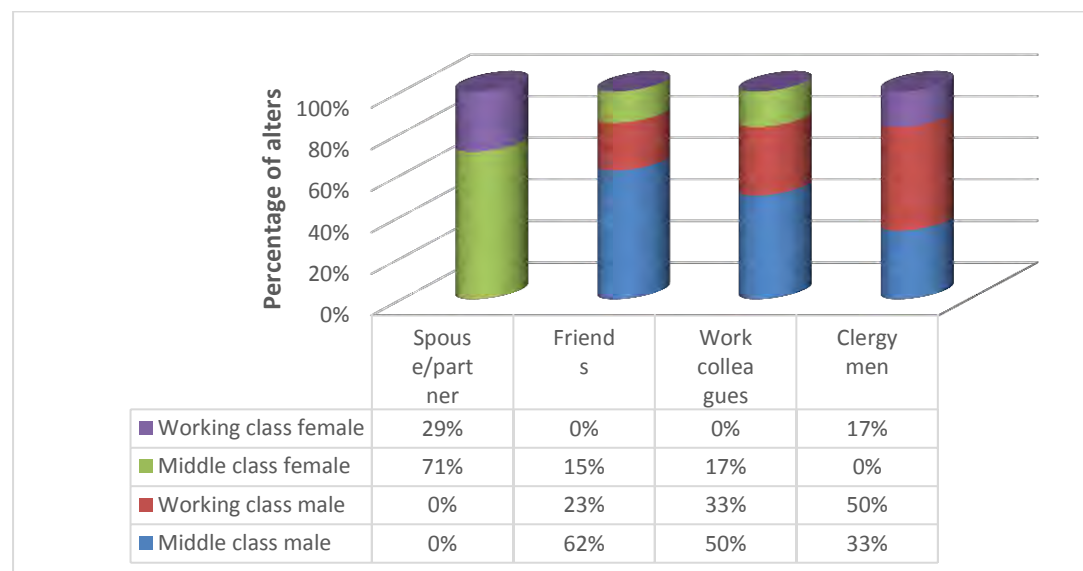
8.2. Nature of relationships within the social network

This section examines the nature of relationships between African migrants and their various alters from the perspective of the alters. It also investigates how intergroup contact influenced the formation of ties from the alters' perspective. This is important in order to determine whether the ties are symmetrical or asymmetrical and to measure for reciprocity between the egos and their various alters within their networks. A number of themes were uncovered during the interviews with the 32 alters. These are discussed in the sub-section below.

8.2.1. Nature of tie with egos

As noted in the previous chapter, all the most important ties identified by the egos were state ties. These comprised ties with spouses/partners, friends, clergy and work colleagues. The figure below provides an overview of the type of alter ties.

Figure 8.5: Type of alters' ties



As shown in the figure above, most of the ties identified in the study were friendship ties. The egos identified 13 (41%) alters who they shared such ties with. They consisted of 11 males and two females. Eight of the males were middle class and three were working class, while both females were middle class. Seven (22%) female alters were identified, including

five middle class and two working class females who were either married to or partners with the egos. Six (19%) alters were work colleagues, made up of five males (three middle class and two working class) and one middle class female. The other six (19%) alters were clergy identified by the egos as their most important relationship. They included five males and one female. This group consisted of two middle class males, three working class males and one working class female. These ties were confirmed by the alters when they were interviewed, although the importance ascribed to them by the alters was in some cases inconsistent with that of the egos as noted in later sections. Flowing from this, with the exception of ties with spouses/partners, the findings showed that the majority of the most important alters identified by the egos within their networks were male. The only important tie that was confined to females was ties with spouses/partners. For example, male alters were more present than females in friendship ties and a large proportion of these alters were middle class males. This was also the case with the most important ties with clergy and work colleagues as shown in the above figure. Therefore, class and gender impacted on the most important ties of the migrants. The study revealed that the migrants tend to have more ties with males than females and with middle class alters than working class alters.

8.2.2. Duration of tie between egos and alters

The alters were asked to state the duration of their ties with the egos. These included ties with spouses/partners, friends, clergy and work colleagues. This was necessary to check for discrepancies or consistency with the answers provided by the egos. No discrepancies or inconsistencies were found between the alters' responses and those of the egos discussed in the previous chapter.

Table 8.1: Duration of tie

Tie	0-5 years		6-10 years		11-15 years		16-20 years	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Spouse/partner	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0
Friends	0	1	0	1	0	3	2	6
Work colleagues	1	1	0	3	0	1	0	0
Clergy	0	1	0	3	1	1	0	0

Table 8.1 provides a further breakdown of the gender and class of the alters and their accounts of the duration of their relationships with the egos. The ties with work colleagues and clergy were of the shortest duration. Two (6%) of the relationships between egos and work colleagues spanned five years or less, three (9%) had lasted for six-10 years and only one (3%) tie had lasted for 11-15 years. One (3%) alter, a clergyman stated that his tie with the ego had lasted five years or less. Three (9%) had a longer duration of six-10 years, and two spanned between 11 and 15 years. The findings show that none of these ties had a duration of 16-20 years. However, most of the ties with spouses/partners and friends were of longer duration. Breaking this down further, only one (3%) alter with a friendship tie stated that it had lasted five years or less. Five of the ties with friends and spouses/partners had a duration of six-11 years. Four of these were spouses/partners and one a friend of the ego. Another six (17%) alters, comprising of three spouses/partners and three friends stated that they had known their egos for 11-15 years. Eight (22%) alters, which represented the majority stated that they had been friends with their egos for 16-20 years. It is evident from the findings that most of the friendship ties were of longer duration than other types of ties. These findings are consistent with the data provided by the egos that were presented in the previous chapter.

8.2.3 Characteristics of tie

This section explores the characteristics of the relationship between the alters and egos from the alters' perspective in order to determine the level of reciprocity and mutuality in the various ties as well as to ascertain whether they were symmetrical or asymmetrical²⁶. The measurement of reciprocity in a dyadic tie is very important as it reveals the nature of the tie; in this context, from the view of the alters. White and Johansen (2005: 239) explain that "... reciprocity is a crucial indication of mutual recognition, of the presence of agency in building alliances and hence of the closeness of ties." Turning to symmetry, as defined earlier, symmetric ties are characterized by mutuality, that is, relationships in which node A and node B respond to each other in a similar way (Botha 2000: 5). In order to measure symmetry, the alters' responses were cross-checked and presented alongside those of the

²⁶ The interview guide for the Nigerian respondents asked them to identify their most important South African tie and also investigated if and why this relationship was important to them. Similarly, the interview guide for the South African respondents asked if these ties were important to them. This was done to explore if the Nigerians and South Africans have a common value of their relationship. Reciprocity was measured in this regard (see appendices 1 and 2).

egos who identified them as their most important relationship. The responses from the alters were mixed. Of the 32 alters sampled, 20 (63%) of their ties were symmetrical and were characterised by reciprocity. These alters acknowledged that the ties were important to them. They consisted of seven spouses/partners (five middle class and two working class females); nine friends (five middle class males, two working class males, and two middle class females); two work colleagues (one middle class male and one working class male); and two clergy (one middle class male and one working class male). Overall, this group had more males (11) than females (9). In terms of class, there were 14 middle class alters, made up of seven females and seven males; and six working class alters (two working class females and four working class males).

Juxtaposing alters' and egos' responses to check for symmetry and reciprocity, one of the middle class egos, Toju (Interviewed 24/07/14) identified his wife Ntombi, a middle class alter, as his most important South African tie. Asked why this was the case, Toju stated that his marriage has enabled his economic integration and since family is important to him and his wife cares deeply for both their nuclear and extended families, she is his most important South African tie. Ntombi acknowledged that her tie with Toju was of value to her. She states that,

It's obvious, I'm his wife. We share everything with each other and support each other. He takes care of me and my kids. He is my best friend and confidant (Interviewed 11/08/14).

Similarly, Nosa, a middle class ego identified a work colleague, Marvin, a middle class alter, as his most important South African relationship. He described the relationship as important because of the mentoring he received from Marvin as a senior colleague. He says:

I have received a lot of professional advice that has grown me in my field because of Marvin. A lot of what I am now is largely because of his invested time and advice (Interviewed 22/10/14).

Marvin corroborates the mutual nature of this tie in his response:

Nosa has become a very good friend. We are colleagues and friends. When I need someone to unwind from the hardships of life with, I go to him. He is my confidant (Interviewed 10/11/14).

The symmetrical and reciprocal nature of the ties between alter and egos were present across classes. For example, Onome, a middle class migrant, identified Sne, a working class alter as her most important South African relationship. Asked why this was the case, Onome replied

Sne is a very good friend... She is a poor cleaner but when it comes to good qualities she's very rich... She is my best friend that is why it is important. I trust her very much (10/09/14).

Sne responded in a similar manner:

It is important because she cares for me. She treats me like a human being... My relatives say she is Nigerian and she is using *muthi* but I don't believe them... My house that I am staying she gave me money to build the roof when it collapsed. When I don't have money, she gives me to buy groceries. How many of my relatives can do this? (Interviewed 07/12/14)

The various relationships were symmetric and reciprocal because of the mutual positive value both alters and egos ascribed to them and the mutual benefits they gained from the ties. These benefits were both tangible and intangible. For example, the benefits Toju and Ntombi gained from being married were affective (intangible) and financial (tangible). Toju was able to get his residence permit and a job because of his marriage to Ntombi. On the other hand, she states that she gained affective and affectionate types of support from the tie. In Nosa and Marvin's case, the benefits were also tangible (mentoring, advice) and intangible (reduce stress). Nosa and Marvin show the multiplexity of ties that exist when the nodes within a network have more than one tie. Rogan (2014: 4) defines it as the multiple overlapping of social relations between the same nodes in a social network. In Nosa and Marvin's case, they have multiple ties as work colleagues and friends which overlap. Irrespective of the class difference between Onome and Sne, their tie was symmetric and reciprocity existed within it. While Sne benefitted financially, Onome gained affective benefits as a result of the existence of social capital within the network. As noted earlier, reciprocity in ties has various effects that impact on the characteristics of the network ties. Liu-Farrer (2010) notes that the

presence of reciprocity in migrants' ties not only leads to benefits and support, as seen in Miguel and Tranmer (2009) and Lubber et al's (2001) studies, but the establishment of trust and bonds within networks and this promotes migrants' integration. Therefore, it can be inferred that intergroup contact fostered the formation of conviviality and networks. Reciprocity has been identified as one of the reasons why diverse groups form ties. Brudvig (2013) explains that migrants and host members overcome their differences when they seek to achieve mutual benefits. Hence, the socio-economic interdependency that characterized these dyadic ties was a condition that produced positive intergroup contact.

Nevertheless, not all alters' ties were symmetric and reciprocal in nature. Twelve (36%) of the alters' responses showed that these ties lacked reciprocity and were asymmetric ties. Four of these were friends (three middle class males and one working class male); four were work colleagues (two middle class males, one working class male and one middle class female); and four were clergy (one middle class male, two working class males and one working class female). A gender disaggregation of the 12 alters shows that two were female and 10 male. In terms of class, seven are middle class (one female and six males); and the remaining five are working class (four males and one female). Thus, more male than female alters' ties were symmetric and characterised by reciprocity.

Taking two examples, one female and one male to check for reciprocity of ties, Funmi, a working class female migrant, identified Futhi, a middle class female alter who is a work colleague as her most important South African tie. Funmi stated that this relationship was important because Futhi supports her financially and spiritually, through advice and encouragement which has made it easier for her to stay in South Africa despite financial difficulties (Interviewed 12/09/14). When Futhi was questioned about the nature of her relationship with Funmi, she responded that,

...we are not so close... I advise Funmi, assist her with funds here and there but she is not in my circle of friends or close relationship. What I did for her, I would do to any child of God so it isn't because she is close to me (Interviewed 21/09/14).

A middle class male alter, Nkosi, a clergyman was identified by Moses, a working class male migrant, as his most important South African tie. Moses stated that

Nkosi is my most important South African tie because he is not only my spiritual father but he also employed me... He gave me work and I can survive here in South Africa because of him (Interviewed 26/05/14).

On the other hand, Nkosi responded that,

...I get why he thinks it is important to him... I was in a position to help a foreigner as a Christian and I did. But I don't get anything from him (Interviewed 19/06/14).

These 12 relationships, including the two examples above were asymmetrical and lacked reciprocity because the value that the egos ascribed to the alters was not mutual. As Uzzi (1997) explains, asymmetric ties lack reciprocity. However, this does not downplay the value of these ties. Although alters such as Nkosi and Futhi's perceptions of the value of their relationship with their egos were not the same as the egos', this does not imply that the egos did not benefit from these ties. All 12 egos indicated they benefitted in various ways (affective and financial); this is why they identified the alters as their most important South African ties in the first place. In sum, it is clear that the ties in these cases are asymmetric as they lack reciprocity and can thus be categorized as weak ties. This clearly shows that, even in the absence of reciprocity, intergroup contact produced conviviality.

8.3. Likes and dislikes

The alters were probed on things they liked and disliked about their egos. The responses were mixed. Twenty-five of the alters, 17 males and eight females, expressed what they disliked about their egos. In terms of gender and class, 10 of this group were middle class males, seven working class males, five middle class females and three working class females. On the other hand, seven alters said that there was nothing they disliked about their egos; these included three middle class males, one working class male and three middle class females. The dislikes revolved around cultural differences; the migrants' inability to speak Zulu, different traditional practices and beliefs and stereotypes the egos hold about South Africans. A large number of alters disliked that the egos could not speak any South African language.

Asked what he disliked about his ego, Mark, a middle class migrant, Paul, a middle class alter stated that,

One thing I hate not dislike about... is that he cannot speak isiZulu, he is not even trying to. It makes it difficult to communicate. I speak English but I should not be speaking English to a fellow African... I have mentioned this to him and he says isiZulu is not an international language that he has to learn. Things like this make me think he does not regard my language... This is not just about communicating but respect for my culture as well (Interviewed 09/08/14).

Thami, a middle class alter to Osehi, a working class migrant explained what he disliked about her:

They think we are backward and crude. She has this feeling that our ancestral worship is idolatry and she does not hide it. My *Isiphandla* [a wristband made from goat skin that is worn by the Zulus during an ancestral ceremony] that I wear is a cultural thing but she always makes snide comments about it... I really don't like how she treats my beliefs (Interviewed 14/07/14).

Similarly, Thembi, another working class female alter, identified what she disliked about her partner, Wale, a working class male;

I don't like the attitude that they have about us. Nigerians feel they are better than us. He has the worst impression about us, South Africans... I say this because he is always comparing us to Nigerians. He says things like in Nigeria we don't rape children like you; we don't have teenage pregnancies like you... Everything he compares and makes us out to be bad while they are good. I don't like it at all (Interviewed 20/08/14).

On the flipside, the alters identified various traits they liked about their egos. Thirty alters identified various characteristics of the egos that they liked. These alters included 13 middle class males, seven working class males, seven middle class females and three working class females. Interestingly, some alters who did not like aspects of their ego's attitude towards their culture identified the ego's culture as one of the characteristics that they liked. For

example, Thami and Thembi admitted that they like aspects of Nigerian culture relating to food, clothes, marriage and ancestral worship and also realised through watching Nigerian movies and through interaction with their egos that Nigerian and Zulu culture have a lot in common. These sentiments were also expressed by other alters; examples include Sne, Ntando and Sthe. According to Sne who is Onome's alter,

I like Onome's culture. They are very respectful... I really like the language, Igbo, the *Igwe* [the Igbo word for king], and the food, oh my *egusi* [Nigerian delicacy of vegetable and melon soup] is my favourite. What I like most is the traditional attires, oh my word, they are so colourful and modern (Interviewed 07/12/14).

Ntando, a middle class male alter identified by Tracy, a middle class ego, also likes the culture of her ego.

I like the way they do things. Their *lobola* is not outrageously expensive and they respect their wives. I mix a lot with Tracy and her friends; you can see the culture of the people... I like their language and their traditions. They are traditional just like us... What is the difference? They pay *lobola*, they have a king, they have *pap* [porridge made from mealie meal] like us and slaughter cows just like us (Interviewed 27/09/14).

Sthe, a working class male who was identified by Nedu, a working class male ego stated what he likes about Nedu:

What I mostly like about him is that he accepts my culture. He doesn't impose his culture on me and he even tries to learn mine. He communicates in isiZulu. Although, he is not very fluent but because he is interested I respect him for that. He is very open to my culture and is very helpful... He assists me financially (Interviewed 30/12/14).

Cultural differences and stereotypes were the main factors identified by the alters as the things they disliked about their egos. Alters that disliked their egos because of differences in language and cultural practices expected some tolerance and acceptance of their culture by the egos. For example, Thami and Thembi's responses show that they expect their egos to

have become assimilated into their cultural sphere in the sense that they adopt some of their culture, like learning Zulu, accepting Zulu cultural practices and dropping the stereotypes they (egos) have about South Africans. Unlike Thami and Thembi's egos, Nedu had assimilated some of Sthe's culture. This is similar to Fortiers's (2007) explanation of the host's expectation of assimilation by the migrant. According to her, "the problem of living together becomes a problem of 'them' adjusting to 'our' values, being gracious guests in our home" (Fortiers 2007: 107). By implication, migrants are welcome as long as they tone down those differences that do not suit their host's cultural fabric, and adopt those of the host. Paradoxically, there were alters that liked and accepted their egos' cultural differences. Sne and Ntando show signs of hospitality, conviviality and cosmopolitanism in their ties with their egos. There was acculturation of alters like Sne who imbibed some of the cultures of her ego through their interaction. Ntando developed a sense of universality irrespective of the cultural diversity between him and his ego. Gsir (2014: 9) argues that such "social contacts between different groups have a favourable effect on mutual perceptions and reduce negative attitudes". The relationship, or to borrow from Gsir (2014), social contacts Ntando had with Tracy led to the development of social bridging capital that created a sense of universal homogeneity which was bigger than the South African and Nigerian divide and encompassed an African sense of identity.

8.4. Impact of African identity on network ties

The alters were asked if the fact that the egos are African immigrants impacted on their relationship. Out of the 32 alters sampled, 23 (72%) stated that the egos' status as an African immigrant did not impact on their relationship. They comprised 11 middle class males, three working class males, two working class females and seven middle class females. A large proportion of the middle class males and females were represented in this group. They stated that the reasons why being an African migrant did not affect their relationship with their egos include pan-Africanism, exposure or experience as African immigrants themselves and *Ubuntu*. Sne, a working class female alter, identified pan-Africanism as her reason stating that,

I would say no because we are all Africans. I have learnt some Nigerian words like *Igwe* [King] and I eat Nigerian foods. What I have realised is that we are really not so different, culturally I mean. If I can accept a Xhosa or Venda as

my brother then I can accept an Igbo or any other Nigerian (Interviewed 7/12/14).

Another alter Bongi, middle class male alter to Chukwudi, a middle class male ego, responded

Never! From the first day we met I just took to him. I have heard a lot of bad things about Nigerians but this did not impact on our relationship. I relate with him as I would relate to anyone... The reason is that I have travelled a lot and I have worked in six African countries including Nigeria. These people were very welcoming and it taught me a lot (Interviewed 29/11/14).

Futhi, a middle class alter, who had stated that her tie with her ego, Funmi was not important to her, said,

Not in anyway. I will treat her the way I would treat other South Africans. I apply *Ubuntu* (humanity to everyone) in my dealings with people irrespective of where they come from. I have a lot of African migrants as friends even family. My cousin is married to a Congolese and they have children together. African immigrant or not our relationship will be the same (Interviewed 21/09/14)

Irrespective of diversity, social capital was employed as a bridge to foster interaction. This is in line with Fields' argument that when diversity exists within networks, social capital enables the formation of ties by bringing together people from different social divisions (2003). Sne is a typical example of the effect of entanglement on diversity. Nuttal (2001: 9) describes entanglement as being intertwined in a process where intimacy is gained (Nuttall 2001: 9). The interaction between Sne and her ego, Paul exemplifies a scenario where diversity is present but does not hinder the process of entanglement. Bongi is able to relate easier to migrants due to his experience of travelling across Africa which has made him more open to and tolerate of different African cultures and peoples. Bongi might thus be described as cosmopolitan, insofar as cosmopolitans are people that are fond of migrating, who develop social networks across borders or feel at home everywhere they go (Yarram and Shetty 2014). This gives them a sense of "in-betweenness" which implies "belonging to more than one ethnic and cultural localism simultaneously" (Werbner 1999: 34). As noted in Chapter two, cosmopolitanism involves "openness towards cultural difference, as a normative ideal

acknowledging the moral worth of the individual regardless of origin or as a new type of political project addressing the limitations of the nation-state in a globalising world” (Haupt 2010: 6). It is from such perspectives of de-territorialization and openness that Bongi is able to relate to diversity. He has travelled widely, experienced diverse cultures, and developed ties and networks across various cultural and geographical boundaries. As he explains, this makes him more open to the cultural diversity of migrants.

Conversely, nine (28%) alters responded that the fact that the egos are African immigrants impacted on their relationships. They included two middle class males, five working class males, one middle class female and one working class female. Most of these alters were working class males and few were females. The reasons provided for their answers include cultural differences, stereotypes about African migrants and the alters’ past experiences with other African migrants. Sandile, a middle class male alter identified by Fatima, a working class ego, as her most important South African tie stated that

...Nigerians are mostly involved in clandestine activities and this unconsciously keeps me on my toes. I am very careful when dealing with her. It’s not that she’s a bad person, shame she’s not. I guess I am just being careful. You know them. Yoh! They are clever (Interviewed 20/11/14).

Another alter, Vusi, a working class male identified by Jerry, a working class male ego, stated that

Yes it has. We are from two different worlds. Yes we are all Africans but our cultures are different. For example he (ego) does not respect our ancestors. I am a practicing Christian and a church leader, but we must respect our tradition. He calls it idol worship and it is disrespectful to me (Interviewed 06/12/14).

Clearly, in these cases bridging social capital is a challenge due to fear of differences and the minimal level of trust within the network. Enduring stereotypes founded on socio-cultural differences have impacted on the development of trust between the egos and alters. This has also impacted on their ability to acknowledge and tolerate each other’s humanity. This is somewhat in line with Steenkamp’s (2009) finding that the absence of trust between South Africans and African migrants is responsible for the exclusive nature of the relationships that

have evolved (Steenkamp 2009). However, this may not be due to fundamental differences between South Africans and African immigrants, because, as noted earlier, other alters (Ntombi, Sne, Futhi, and Bongi) and egos (Toju, and Nedu) acknowledged that through sustained interaction they have come to realise they have similar cultures and worldviews. Rather, the lack of trust between South Africans and Nigerian immigrants in this case stems from general stereotypes about social differences which in many ways help fuel xenophobic behaviour against Nigerians and other African immigrants. For example, the stereotype that all Nigerians are criminals; drug lords, drug peddlers and financial scammers or that they are idolatrous²⁷ on the one hand, and too westernized to respect Zulu ancestral worship, on the other, can be seen in Vusi's comments above and those of Thami (alter) about Osehi (ego) in the Likes/Dislikes section.

8.5. Influence of cultural differences on network ties

The alters were also asked if cultural differences have influenced the nature of the relationship between them and their egos. The majority (22 out of 32) stated that cultural differences have impacted on the nature of this relationship. However the findings show that this impact was not always negative. Sixteen (50%) alters stated that the effects of cultural differences are positive. They comprised of seven middle class males, three working class males, four middle class females and two working class females. These alters cited reasons such as tolerance, knowledge of other cultures and cultural exchange. Penny, a middle class alter who was identified by her husband Max, a middle class ego as his most important South African relationship, said

Initially the language difference was a big problem. I like to talk in my home language which is isiZulu... You can say I am from the old school that still believes in polygamy (laughs). But being married to Max made me understand his culture. These people (African migrants) are not as bad as the media and books say. I have met other Nigerians through him (Interviewed 14/11/14).

²⁷ A good number of South Africans surveyed for a study that examined South African perceptions of Nigerians said they thought Nigerians were very fetishist (Isike and Isike, 2012); in the current study, a few alters also expressed such sentiments.

Desiree, a middle class female alter identified by her friend, John, a middle class ego, stated that

Cultural differences impacted on the relationship. I have come to learn a lot about the Nigerian culture. I wear their clothes and eat their food. I even know some words in the Nigerian language. It influenced me personally as I have become more African, if I can use that word (Interviewed 04/12/14).

However, the other six (19%) alters stated that cultural differences influenced their relationships with their egos in a negative way. This group included three working class males, two middle class females and one working class female. Two main reasons emerged; communication barriers and a lack of trust. Zandile, a middle class female alter, stated that the language barrier makes it difficult to communicate with Fatima, her working class ego:

I find it very difficult to communicate with her. She doesn't speak Zulu which is my mother tongue and this makes it very difficult for us to carry out a conversation. I speak English but not in a relaxed setting, English is not the language I want to speak then. It's like I'm talking to my boss at work. It has influenced the relationship because I avoid carrying out a conversation which seems like work to me (Interviewed 20/11/14).

For Vusi, a working class alter, cultural differences such as language and worldview negatively influenced his relationship with Jerry, a working class ego. According to him,

Obviously! Because of the difference I really can't trust him. How do you trust someone that you don't know or let me put it this way; that you don't understand? It really influences our relationship (Interviewed 6/12/14).

The other 10 (31%) alters stated that cultural differences did not impact on their relationship in any way. They included six middle class males, two working class males and two middle class females. Asked to provide reasons for their answer, the most common was the universality of our human identity which supersedes cultural diversity and religion. Mbatha, a working class male alter, stated that

We are all different. Even we South Africans are different. The Zulus are different from the Xhosas and Vendas. So what is the big deal about cultural

differences? My philosophy in life that guides me is that everyone is human, black, white, gay, straight, Nigerians, South Africans and therefore must be treated with dignity (Interviewed 07/12/14).

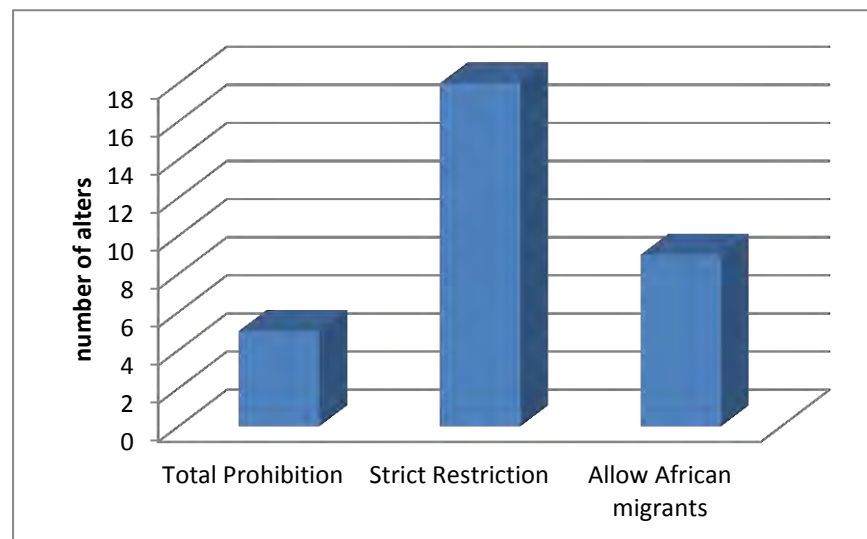
Futhi, a middle class female alter, added that,

We are all children of God and He made us different culturally and biologically. Therefore, I must first accept everyone as my brother or sister irrespective of the cultural difference...cultural difference did not influence my relationship with her (Interviewed 21/09/14).

Those alters who said that cultural differences influenced the relationship positively indicated that there was not just tolerance or openness but an exchange of cultural practices. This is in line with Bhugra and Becker's (2005: 21) argument that exchange of cultural practices due to interaction between migrants and host members is plausible, irrespective of the dominant culture. Therefore, host members can imbibe the culture of migrants and vice versa. Max became open to differences through his relationship with his ego, while Desiree showed signs of cosmopolitanism by imbibing some of the cultural practices of her ego. The other alters that responded that cultural differences negatively influenced their relationship show that differences can hinder the formation of trust in a network. However, Mbatha and Futhi who said that these differences did not influence their relationship, overcame the boundaries of diversity through acceptance of difference as a natural order of life which is superseded by our common humanity. For them, cultural homogeneity is an ideal that is non-existent. They concur with Van Krieken's (2012) argument that the host community is not always an integrated homogenous society, but usually has lines of differences which divides it.

8.6. Perceptions of African immigration to South Africa

Figure 8.6: Perceptions of African migration



The alters were asked to state their general perceptions of African immigration to South Africa. Their views were not limited to the egos that identified them as their most important relationship but extended to migration from Africa to South Africa in general. The above figure shows their various viewpoints, which ranged from total prohibition of African migrants to allowing them in. Overall, the majority of the alters were not opposed to African migration but felt that the government should adopt strict policies to regulate and reduce the influx of this movement. The reasons cited by the 18 (56%) alters²⁸ that supported regulation include reducing competition for goods and services like employment, resources, shelter and medical facilities and selective exclusion of certain migrants. This group consisted of seven middle class males, four working class males, five middle class females and two working class females. Middle class female alter Thembi stated that

I am not opposed to people coming to South Africa from Africa. My only problem is how people enter into this country without being properly scrutinized... Migration is not bad; it is when it abused that it becomes bad... South Africa can benefit from Africa(n) migration if only we allow those that can benefit us. I work with very brilliant brains from Africa but if you go to the streets of Empangeni and Richards Bay, you see another set carrying out

²⁸ If these 18 alters are added to the 10 that supported the idea of unrestricted African immigration into South Africa, the number who want Africans to be allowed into the country becomes more significant.

criminal activities. Africa(n) migration must be regulated in a way that profits the country (Interviewed 11/10/14) .

The view that African migrants should be filtered to ensure that only those that suit the social and economic fabric and needs of South African society typifies selective tolerance of migrants. This concurs with Yeoh's (2013: 97) argument that cosmopolitanism is dependent on economic position. Selective exclusion and inclusion of migrants is not based on cultural but economic diversity. He explains that in this case, "those identified as 'foreign talent' are welcomed and valorised as migrant talent which energises society..., those who are not – i.e. foreign workers – tend to be treated as disposable labour" (Yeoh 2013: 97). People that tend to favour strict prohibition seek to employ economic diversity as a tool for selective exclusion.

At the other extreme, five (16%) of the alters, made up of one middle class male, three working class males and one working class female, proposed that legislation be implemented to ban African migration to the country. They cited various reasons, including preventing diseases from the continent from being imported into the country, reducing criminal activities, protecting local culture and ensuring that jobs are reserved for South Africans. Spa stated that,

these Africans come here, take our women, marry them and have kids with them... Marrying our women is not the problem but the problem is that these kids grow up and ignore the ways of our ancestors. Some cannot even speak Zulu... When our kids marry White or Indian men, it is difficult to accept but they can say they are *amakhaladi* [coloured/ mixed race] which is a race here. What do we say of our kids from Ghanaians or Nigerians? (Interviewed 21/11/14)

Vuyo felt that,

they must be banned not because of this xenophobic nonsense being said but because they come with diseases and crime. Check the statistics, HIV and crime increased in this country when Africans flocked here (Interviewed 19/10/14).

Paul, a middle class male alter stated that,

I think we should stop them (African migrants) from entering the country. For those that are already here, they must just respect and adopt our lifestyle. Allowing this people here has a negative implication for our future generation... Soon isiZulu will be extinct and we will lose ourselves (Interviewed 09/08/14).

These alters seek to maintain the socio-cultural and economic fabric of South Africa not by tolerating differences but by totally excluding African migrants through adopting policies that prevent migration from the continent. Paul's response involves not only exclusion at the borders, but the assimilation of those already in the country to fit the socio-cultural fabric of society. This aligns with Regout's (2011: 8) argument that exclusion entails the implementation of restrictive policies that ensure that immigrants do not integrate and the creation of a society that is free from unwanted immigrants who would threaten the socio-cultural life of the host communities. While the latter may be the case with these alters, they seem to only want restrictive policies that will exclude African migrants at the borders and not necessarily policies to prevent integration. For example, Paul talks about acceptance of those already in the country as long as they respect the South African lifestyle. These views contradict the friendships they have with their various egos and also demonstrate their xenophobic tendencies. For instance, the same Paul who talks of excluding foreigners at the borders speaks of a convivial relationship with Mark who he wants to learn isiZulu (assimilation):

Mark is a very good friend of mine. He is my *chommie* [Afrikaans word for friend]... That guy got my back (Interviewed 09/08/14).

Paul's views on African immigration to South Africa also reflect how the contact hypothesis does not always work well in practice. As noted in Chapter two, this hypothesis assumes that the sustained interaction of diverse groups ultimately results in less prejudice (Dixon et al 2005: 697). Based on this hypothesis, it is assumed that Paul's friendship with Mark would have removed his prejudice towards African migration. However, this was not the case. This does not in any way imply that the contact hypothesis is incorrect, but rather that it does not work as expected in all cases. Shola and Ntuli's case confirms this point. Due to his sustained

interaction and contact with Shola, Ntuli changed his stereotypical views about Nigerian migrants, as is shown below in his response to the question of whether cultural differences influenced his relationship with Shola:

Maybe initially, but as we became friends, that disappeared as I came to know more about Nigerians. Shola is truly Nigerian... We used to argue a lot about my past misconceptions of Nigerians... They are not bad people. I used to think they were all criminals... From close contact, I can see we are almost the same... He changed my mind-set not just about Nigerians but about Africans and our common humanity (Interviewed 21/11/14).

Therefore, frequent interaction could have two opposite outcomes; one blurring the lines of differences and the other having no influence on these demarcations.

On the other hand, the last group of alters stated that African migration should be allowed without any restrictions. These nine (28%) alters which include five middle class males, one working class male and three middle class females, stated that unrestricted migration will foster interdependence and cooperation among countries within the continent, reduce xenophobia in the long run and benefit the host country through brain gain. Thola responded thus:

I think we should not restrict migration from our brother countries. Allowing them to come in will stop xenophobia because this will make us interact more with them and understand them better. Apartheid laws prevented us from interacting with them and that's the genesis of xenophobia because we don't know them. We see them as *Amakwerekwere* (foreign) but if we are exposed to them, we will be forced to accept them (Interviewed 12/12/14).

Similarly, Futhi thinks that

We have a lot to learn from each other's cultures so when they come, they must also hope to learn about us as much as we need to learn about them. I think when we know enough about each other, we will be able to live as one people and prospering together as Africans. That is what God intends for humanity (Interviewed 21/09/14).

This group favours unrestricted African migration as they posit that it not only offers various social and economic benefits for South Africa²⁹, but could eradicate xenophobia. This is in line with Reitzes' (2009) argument that xenophobia is a consequence of South Africa's restrictive immigration policies, inherited from the apartheid government, which creates a national South African identity and 'othering' of African migrants. In other words, their argument is that unrestricted immigration policies will eventually lead to the demise of othering. However, this does not mean that African immigrants coming into South Africa would have free rein to live in the country without consideration for South African culture and ways of doing things. While this group generally favour a convergence of cultures, i.e., getting the best of two cultures, they expect open-mindedness that will allow for cosmopolitanism to thrive in their desire for a culturally integrated Africa. None of the nine respondents in this group expressed any assimilationist expectations of African immigrants dropping their culture and simply adopting or fitting into South Africa culture.

8.7. Discussion of findings and conclusion

This chapter examined the characteristics of the dyadic relationship between the alters and egos from the perspectives of the alters. It also checked for reciprocity and symmetry or asymmetry in the migrants' personal networks based on the empirical findings generated from the interviews with alters. As was established in the previous chapter, the findings here show that the majority (20 out of 32) of the most important ties with egos were friendship ties, kinship ties, and ties with work colleagues and clergy. They also show that friendship ties were of longer duration than other ties.

Another important finding was the presence of reciprocity in most of the symmetric alters' ties with the egos. The majority of the alters (20 out of 32), confirmed that their ties with the egos were also important to them as they gained support from their egos. These ties were all state ties. However, not all ties were characterised by reciprocity. Some alters did not ascribe as much value to their ties with the egos. In other words, the alters did not respond in the same way that egos responded to their ties. This finding supports White and Johansen's

²⁹ All nine indicated they knew Nigerians in the area who had thriving businesses that employed South Africans, and Nigerians who were school teachers, medical doctors and lecturers at the University of Zululand, all of who contributed to economic growth and the development of the area.

(2005: 239) claim that the presence of reciprocity in network ties can be measured through mutual recognition of the importance of the tie by both the ego and the alter. In other words, if alters and egos do not mutually recognize the importance of their ties, as is the case here, these are asymmetric ties.

Furthermore, the chapter revealed that for most of the alters (23 out of 32), the status of the egos as African immigrants did not impact negatively on the ties. There was evidence of cultural exchanges as in the cases of Sne and Bongi. The findings show that the presence of bridging social capital within the network ties enabled them to overcome the boundaries of geographical and cultural differences to form relationships. Apart from the presence of bridging social capital, another factor was the alters' cosmopolitan nature which led to openness towards cultural diversity. A minority (nine out of 32) of the alters expressed reservations about the egos' country of origin. Some of the reasons for these reservations include cultural differences between the alters and egos and stereotypes about African migrants. With respect to cultural differences, the study showed that half (16 out of 32) of the alters stated that these positively impacted the relationship. This led to hospitality, assimilation and entanglement of cultures for this group, thereby creating positive relations. However, 10 of the 32 alters stated that cultural diversity did not influence the relationship due to their belief in the universality of people which supersedes cultural fractionalisation. Finally, a minority (six out of 32) of the alters stated that cultural differences negatively impacted on relationships because they constrained the formation of ties due to communication barriers and a lack of trust. Therefore, the study showed that for those alters that were more open to their ego's differences, there was reciprocity and social capital which eventually led to acculturation, hybridity, hospitality and cultural entanglement. In contrast, those that were wary of cultural differences showed a minimal level of social capital and reciprocity in their various ties.

In conclusion, it is evident that there is reciprocity in the relations with alters in the egos' networks. However, reciprocity did not exist in all the relationships. The presence of reciprocity did not deter intergroup contact. There was also evidence of symmetry and asymmetry in the relationships between South Africans and Nigerian migrants. However, there were more symmetric ties than asymmetric ones, thus confirming the existence of

reciprocity in the ties. In cases where there was no mutuality in ties (asymmetry) such as the cases of Futhi and Nkosi, this did not mean that their egos did not benefit from the relationship. Furthermore, to some extent, there have been cultural exchanges between members of the host community and migrants which have created various entanglements across cultures. This is as a result of the frequency of interaction between these two groups, leading to the hybridisation of identities of some of the alters to the point where some, such as Desiree, felt that they have become more African than they originally thought they were. The entanglement of identities was possible in cases where cultural differences did not deter the interaction and reciprocity of the alters and egos. In other cases, this was mediated by belief in a common humanity. Reciprocity and the symmetry of ties were not only characterized by cultural interactions and entanglements, but were visible in the provision of support to the various alters. Most of the alters stated that they gained various benefits from their egos; this shows that in these ties, social capital was present. There were also instances where cultural differences influenced the nature of the ties between them. In these cases, the ties lacked reciprocity and entanglements of identities. Apart from the usual stereotypes of African immigrants as criminals, job-stealers and disease carriers, some of the alters expressed concerns about the ethnic classification of children born of marriages between South Africans and African migrants. For example, Spa was concerned about where to place children of South African women and Nigerian or Ghanaian men and did not like the fact that these children are being raised in foreign cultures outside the Zulu cultural worldview. In the same way, some Nigerian immigrants such as Ifeanyi expressed reservations about raising their children in a culture where there is little or no regard for the sanctity of marriage. However, those such as Shola, Toju and Osayi (Nigerian male respondents who married South African women) and their wives did not mind the hybridity (of their children) that results from cross-cultural marriage. Overall, more of the alters had reciprocal relations with egos and favoured entanglement of cultures in ways that will aid integration and development on the continent. The study also shows that intergroup contact does not always produce concord as is clear in the case of Paul who still had reservations about African migration and the diversity it brings.

CHAPTER 9: LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SELECTED NIGERIANS AND THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN TIES

As noted in the research methodology section in Chapter six, a total of 36 Nigerian immigrants and 32 South Africans were interviewed, making a total of 68 respondents as four of the African immigrants did have South African ties. The overall findings of the study were presented and analysed in Chapters seven and eight based on selected themes that run across the entire sample set. This chapter adopts a more biographical approach to examine the lives of four Nigerian migrants and their primary South African relationships. It presents and discusses a detailed treatment of findings from the lived experiences of three of the Nigerian immigrants; Shola, Omo, and Adesuwa and their South African ties; Ntuli, Zama and Thando, respectively. The fourth Nigerian immigrant, Ifeanyi did not identify any most important South African tie. The reason for selecting Ifeanyi was to give expression to those in the sample that did not have South African ties. The four Nigerian migrants consisted of one working class male, one working class female, one middle class male and one middle class female. This sub-sample was purposely selected for two reasons. Firstly, their interesting stories/experiences capture many aspects of the complex web of relations that exist between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. Secondly, they portray a dynamic picture of migrants' diverse paths of integration better than the others.

These biographies show that intergroup contact produces concord or discord depending on certain prevailing conditions. They also show that relationships can be positioned at many points along the framework mapped out in Chapter two, namely, hostility and exclusion, cosmopolitanism, hybridity, assimilation, and entanglement and conviviality. Generally, the findings show that there are various spaces where intergroup contact takes place and this creates an enabling environment for interaction between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. The spaces identified include workplaces, and religious and neighbourhood settings. The migrants had various experiences with South Africans that shaped their perceptions of South Africans and the nature of the network ties that were formed. The findings from their interviews are presented under the following themes: reason for migrating to South Africa, neighbourhood, workplace, friendship ties, kinship ties, most important South African tie, and a juxtaposition of the South African tie's views with those of the Nigerian immigrant.

9.1. Shola's ties (Interviewed 22/10/14)

i. Migrating to South Africa

Meet Shola, a 50 year old male who hails from Western Nigeria. He is a medical practitioner based in Empangeni and was sampled as middle class. He is married to a South African who hails from KwaZulu-Natal Province and they have two children. Before migrating to South Africa in 1995, Shola studied medicine at a University in the western part of Nigeria and furthered his studies in South Africa after which he obtained a license to practice in the country. Asked what motivated him to migrate to South Africa, he responded that,

I came to South Africa in search of greener pastures. I come from a humble background and South Africa seemed promising because a lot of my peers had also migrated at that time. The end of apartheid and new government made the country attractive for most doctors from Nigeria.

Shola previously lived in other areas of South Africa including Mpumalanga, where he first practised as a medical doctor. He chose Empangeni because it is a small peaceful town that enabled him grow in his career. To him Empangeni is a

...small town which in many ways reminds me of my hometown. It is very accommodating and the people are nice. I have travelled a lot around South Africa but Empangeni people are the most accommodating... Immediately I started working in Empangeni, I knew this was my final destination... When I first came I had interacted with South Africans but in Empangeni it was different.

ii. Living arrangements

Shola resides in an urban area and he explains that he chose it because of its proximity to his place of work. He says that his neighbours are mostly South Africans and describes them as very cordial and respectful.

Because of my busy schedule at work, I don't really have time to socialize with them but whenever I meet them unexpectedly we interact pleasantly... But there are some neighbours that are not so friendly and I don't interact with them. There is a young man that I always greet but ignores me, so I have stopped greeting him... my neighbourhood is friendly... There is one incident

that I would never forget that happened in 2008. During the xenophobic mayhem, two of my neighbours came to the house to check up on me... One in particular apologised for what his fellow countrymen were doing. He reassured me saying that it is not all South Africans that have such predated attitude towards foreigners... One thing that struck me is that he offered me accommodation in his home if there was any problem.

Shola's living arrangements exemplify intergroup contact that fostered concord and discord. His relationships with his South African neighbours range from conviviality to exclusive relations. He describes an instance of a neighbour who was quite unfriendly with no interaction irrespective of spatial proximity. In sum, he acknowledges that the relationships with his neighbours are mostly friendly and cordial which are limited by the demanding nature of his work rather than anything else.

iii. Workplace

Shola gives an overview of his work environment, where according to him, he spends most of his time.

My daily interactions with people at my workplace are complicated because I have colleagues and I have patients. My colleagues are mostly South Africans and are very professional. I have had very few issues with a few of them but they are mostly friendly... One of the issues was with a South African nurse who was rude to me... Yes I will say being a Nigerian was a factor because she complained about that in Zulu, not knowing that my other South African colleagues will tell me... Apart from this particular nurse, my other colleagues are respectful and in some cases we are friends. As for my interaction with my patients, I will say some are friendly, some neutral and others unfriendly. I have Nigerian patients but more of South Africans... Most of my patients are regular patients but a large number of them are also walk ins. I have not really had any hostility from my regular patients. Some of them are now friends to my family. Our relationship moved from patient to friendship. Most of the hostilities I get are from some of the once-off patients. I have had some of them use the derogatory word for foreigners on me but also others have been

very friendly and appreciative of my services. I think I get more hostility from my walk-in patients than my regular ones and work colleagues.

He contends that his most important relationships at work are mostly with his South African colleagues. The reason being that

These South African colleagues assist me with my job. Our relationship does not go beyond the office as we spend so much time in the office.

At his workplace, contact with patients caused the doctor/patient formal relationship to evolve to friendship ties, while in some cases it led to hostility. This finding supports Durrheim et al's (2014) argument on the paradoxical effect of contact. In terms of the types of ties identified in his workplace, these include state and event ties. The state ties include relationships with his colleagues and frequent patients, while the event ties are those with less frequent patients who were mostly walk-ins. He describes the nature of his state ties with his colleagues and long term patients as formal and friendly with minimal hostility. He explains that he mainly experiences hostility from his walk-in patients. Pettigrew (1998) notes that intergroup contact characterized by intimacy, that is, frequent informal relations, usually evolves into cordial relations. Shola's case typifies this. With regard to most of his regular patients, after frequent interaction, not only did friendship ties evolve but these progressed from event to state ties. This is consistent with Miguel and Tranmer's (2009: 16) finding that frequent and unavoidable interaction between migrants and members of the host community would ultimately lead to the development of supportive relationships. In addition, these frequent interactions brought about by friendship between Nigerian migrants and South Africans blur social boundaries.

iv. Friendship ties

In respect of his friendship ties, Shola stated that he has a lot of friends but his closest friends are mostly Nigerians. He explains why this is the case,

...Because of the nature of my job. I have a lot of South African friends, don't get me wrong. However, in Empangeni, we have a lot of Nigerian doctors and because we are in the same busy profession we move in the same circle. I have South African friends that are also doctors and people I have come to know through my wife...In some cases being a Nigerian made them wary of

me. There was one that was not so friendly towards me, he could speak English but never spoke it around me. But after some time, he warmed up towards me. And when one day I asked him why he was so nasty towards, he said because he heard Nigerians were criminals and bad people, but after studying me, he has seen that I am a good person, even the way I treat my wife said a lot about me.

A major characteristic of his friendship ties is the high presence of homophily in his network. He explains that this is the case due to the large population of Nigerian doctors in his spaces of interaction. However, he also identified South Africans as friends within his friendship network. Although people tend to develop ties with other people who they perceive as the same, as noted in Shola's network, in some cases cultural differences dissolve as a result of assimilation. As Macy et al's (2003) study shows, the more frequently diverse people interact, the more similar they are perceived to be and this leads to a sense of homogeneity. Shola further explains that being different has helped build many friendships with South Africans.

I enlighten them about my culture and they do the same. I am partly South African not by location but by blood. My children are of South African heritage and I have come to accept the culture as mine. I practice some of the Zulu cultures that do not go against my beliefs. Things like *lobola* [a cultural practice among Zulus which involves the payment of bride-price], I eat their food, I learnt from my wife how to cook *usu* [a South African delicacy made of cooked cow intestines]. Some of my South African friends have accepted me as I am, I teach them how to cook our food and give them our clothes. You need to see some of them in parties, dressed like a typical Nigerian.

Shola's case also exemplifies how, over time, contact dissolves cultural boundaries among diverse groups. As seen in his case, contact enables both groups to learn about each other (Pettigrew 1998) and this knowledge fosters an understanding that produces conviviality. For instance, Shola learnt about his friends' culture and vice versa. A form of cultural overlap or assimilation emerged through contact that created conviviality and entanglement among them.

However, there have been cases where being different as an African immigrant impacted on some of his friendship ties. He explains one instance,

I was invited by one of my friends to *Isiphandla*, a Zulu cleansing ceremony. A goat was slaughtered for ancestral worship and this goes against my culture. I refused to eat anything. My friend was upset about it... Another barrier is the language. I don't speak Zulu and some of my friends accept me but others still insist on speaking Zulu to me. I find it very disrespectful. In Nigeria, it portrays ethnic domination and that's what they do to me when they impose their language.

In this situation, contact did not dissolve the “us” and “them” divide; instead, it perpetuated discord in their various relations. Cultural differences have a dual effect in Shola's relationships with his friends. On the one hand, they have impacted negatively on his friendship with South Africans, as in the examples of language and traditional ancestral worship. For him, the language difference is not just about difficulty in communicating with friends but cultural domination. Some of his friends try to assimilate him into their culture by insisting he speaks isiZulu, which he has not been able to do because he says he is not good at learning languages. This language barrier puts a strain on their relationship. In other relationships, cultural differences in cooking and dress have helped grow the friendship. Paradoxically, there were cultural exchanges and variants of assimilation of both parties. For example, Shola adopted some aspects of Zulu culture and his friends adopted parts of Nigerian culture. While he shows a certain level of assimilation, he is also wary of certain differences that collide with his own culture, thereby encouraging selective assimilation.

v. Kinship ties

Asked how his relationship with his wife has evolved he said:

I met her when she was very young. I was already a doctor, while she was in college studying. We started dating while she was very young and when I asked her to marry me, she accepted. The only reluctance she had was because of her family... She never had a problem with me being a Nigerian, she would joke that Nigerian men take care of their women better than Zulu men who mostly abuse their women (laughs). The only challenge for me is that I like Nigerian food and she didn't know how to cook them. I had other Nigerian

women teach her how to... My wife summoned courage and informed her family members who were hesitant because I was a foreigner... I must say they didn't trust me at first. It took a lot of convincing to allow them agree for me to marry her. And I think I have convinced them over the years.

In response to further probing on his relationship with his in-laws, he says

My relationship with my in-laws is generally very friendly and pleasant. There are still a few who still don't trust or like me but such is life. My wife's immediate family members accept me as one of their sons... although initially, when we got married some of them were uncertain about me as they had their reservations because I was a Nigerian... I think I was treated differently because I wasn't a Zulu man. For example, they would give my wife funny advices about me, which she told me. After a while my parent in-laws saw that I meant well. I pay most of their bills. I even paid for my wife's siblings' school fees. It took some time but eventually some came around to accept me... However there are those aunties and uncles that I can never please. They just don't trust me because I am a foreigner. Some still think I may marry a Nigerian woman later.

The reservations Shola experienced from his in-laws are not peculiar to him. Every account in this study of Nigerians who married South Africans showed a similar trend of initial non-acceptance of Nigerian spouses by South African in-laws but after close interaction, some became more accepting of their migrant in-laws. Similar to his experiences at his workplace, the intimate nature of the contact between Shola and his in-laws helped foster convivial relations. In this context, marriage was the tool used as bridging social capital. As Granovetter (1983) explains, this is necessary in ties characterized by relative trust among strangers. Marriage has been described as an indicator of interactive integration, where migrants are included in the primary relationships of the host society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006: 10). Shola's case shows that, to some extent, marriage has resulted in the integration of migrants, as not all family members changed their negative attitudes towards him.

Shola also has kinship ties with South Africans; his children with his wife who he describes, interestingly as “100% Nigerians and 100% South Africans”. Asked about them, he says,

Like I said my children are both South Africans and Nigerians... They are in South Africa close to my South African family and I also ensure they travel to Nigeria to keep in touch with their Nigerian family... They practice both cultures. They understand some Zulu and Yoruba words. I think they juggle the two together (laughs).

Shola’s two children indicate blended acculturation of Nigerian and South African cultures. This is the case because of their hybrid characteristic. Hybridity is a process that involves the blending or interaction of two different cultures. Diversities merge into one, which leads to the creation of a new hybrid. In this case Shola’s children are two-in-one, partly South African and partly Nigerian.

vi. Most important South African tie

Finally, Shola identified Ntuli as his most important South African tie. He explains that he met Ntuli as a walk-in patient, who later became a regular patient. The relationship evolved to friendship after frequent contact and mutual interaction. He describes this relationship as a true friendship.

Ntuli is a friend and a brother who I have known for close to ten years. When I need advice, I go to him. We have influenced each other greatly. He wears Nigerian attires and I introduced him to some Nigerian food that he loves a lot. I have learnt a lot about Zulu culture from him too. When there are Zulu activities that I don’t understand, I go to him for some explanation, especially since I have a South African family.

One of the reasons he cites for valuing his relationship with Ntuli is the emotional support in form of advice that he gains from him. Another reason is the role Ntuli plays in enlightening him on Zulu culture which has enabled his integration into the South African community. He adds that reciprocity and cultural exchange exist in this relationship.

vii. Ntuli's tie with Shola (Interviewed 12/11/14)

Ntuli is a lawyer in his mid-50s who confirms that he has known Shola for over ten years. He is a middle class South African. Asked how he became friends with Shola, his response was consistent with Shola's. He stated that he was once Shola's patient and the friendship grew from there. He adds that

I see Shola at least once a week. He is very busy... my relationship with him is more than friendship... At first I was apprehensive. I had read a lot about Nigerians, the drugs and *juju* [voodoo] (laughs). He taught me that word. I would go to him and as my doctor and he was caring and interested... We began to talk and I think he invited me for his party and the relationship grew thereafter.

Like Shola, Ntuli stated that the relationship is important to him. According to Ntuli, this is the case because apart from medical advice, he has someone "he can rely on for just about anything". Clearly, both parties attach value to the relationship and this shows that it is a symmetrical one that is characterized by reciprocity and mutuality in the tie. For example, Ntuli states that

Shola is truly a Nigerian brother. He will go any length just to ensure that my problems are solved. I can share numerous instances where he bailed me out of problems... not just medical, emotional and financial.

Cultural differences did not hinder the formation of ties between them, but led to cultural exchange and enhanced the cosmopolitanism of both parties, who were willing to accommodate their diverse cultures. He adds that

Cultural differences actually made me understand the culture of Nigerians. I have learnt some Nigerian words, I eat the food and I wear the clothes... If I didn't meet Shola I don't think I would be this open to Nigerians. I am even planning to go there next year.

Shola and Ntuli's tie also shows how intimacy of contact propagates concord between diverse groups. Ntuli's negative stereotypes of Nigerians dissolved as a result of his contact with Shola. In this case, the dyadic tie shows that contact can foster conviviality and concord between diverse groups.

9.2. Omo's ties (Interviewed 03/08/14)

i. Migrating to South Africa

Omo is a middle class female migrant in her early 40s. She hails from a small town in the Western part of Nigeria. She migrated to South Africa 18 years ago in order to join her husband, a medical doctor. Her first destination was Transkei in the Eastern Cape. Asked why she moved to Empangeni, she responded,

Because my husband wanted to work in a city and not a rural area, Transkei was a rural area. So he moved to KZN, at first Stanger and later to Empangeni because he got a job in Ngwelazane Hospital.

Marriage was a major factor for most female migrants. Omo was one of the 12 women that migrated to South Africa for this reason. She described her experiences on migrating to Empangeni as challenging because of cultural differences, which she calls "culture shock".

It was a culture shock. Initially, it was very difficult because one, I did not know how to speak the language. I was irritated. In the shops when I speak English, people will respond in Zulu, I thought they did because they didn't like me... I realised that for me to be accepted, I must learn the language.

The language barrier was a major hindrance in her interaction with South Africans. Berry (2005) explains that one of the outcomes of interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds is acculturation which may take the form of peaceful, conflictual or stressful adoption of another culture. In Omo's case this was a stressful but necessary process for her integration. She could either opt to remain separate from the local culture and thus exclude herself or assimilate by learning the language. Berry (2005: 705) states that when migrants seek to develop ties and interact with other cultures, they adopt the strategy of assimilation which involves absorbing the culture of the host or dominant society. As noted in Chapter two, assimilation does not always mean that migrants totally do away with their cultural differences. Xie and Greenman (2005: 4) identify the Path III process of partial assimilation; in this case, migrants do not do away with their differences but adopt aspects of the culture of the host community.

ii. Living arrangements

Omo and her husband reside in their own apartment in the CBD. She states that the decision to reside in a stand-alone house and not a block of flats was motivated by the cultural differences between her family and the neighbours who she presumed would mostly be Zulus.

Staying in a block of flats is uncomfortable especially since my children cannot speak Zulu.

She further describes her neighbourhood as unfriendly and notes that there is very little interaction.

I try to interact with my neighbours but they don't want to interact with me... I suspect it is because I am a foreigner. I had a white neighbour, who never spoke to us, until the day we bought a new flashy car. I think he realised we were not riff raffs. He came to greet us and we exchanged greetings only to find out that his wife and my husband are both medical practitioners and we became friends... The others are so unfriendly; they make noise and fight without regard for others. I complained and this even worsened the relationship.

Clearly, in this situation, spatial proximity did not translate to social proximity in Omo's relations with her neighbours. Being different or rather a migrant discouraged the formation of ties. They were not hostile to her but chose to exclude her from their networks. In the incident related above, class enabled the formation of ties with her neighbour who had, until then, refused to interact with her. It became bridging capital for the formation of friendship ties between them.

iii. Workplace

Omo is self-employed and owns a shop in Empangeni. She describes her work environment as friendly and as an opportunity to create bridging social capital which enabled the formation of state type of ties with her business partners and customers. She adds that her daily interactions with customers at her workplace are mainly with people she has not met before. She adds that being different impacted on these event ties.

I had a business that needs interaction in order to grow. I had to make a conscious effort to learn Zulu in order to communicate with the customers and make them warm up to me... These customers are not usually the same people and I noticed that when they hear my accent and that I tell them I can't speak Zulu, some will walk out, while others will just change their countenance. I realised that in order to make it in this business I had to learn Zulu.

Omo trades in African fabrics which are mostly imported. She prides herself on her work as a platform for not just cultural interaction but cultural awareness.

Most of my customers are South Africans. The opening of the shop was a good thing for my relationship with South Africans. Through my interaction with them through trade, I have learnt their language, become friends with them and come to understand their culture.

Contact also enabled her to develop convivial ties with her customers. As noted previously, the language barrier not only affected her social but her economic integration into society. Initially, differences hindered interactions, but with frequent contact, Omo learnt the language. The interview revealed that there Omo has culturally integrated due to learning the host's language of communication. Therefore, adopting the culture of the host enables the integration of immigrants. In her case, the language barrier hindered the formation of relations with her customers but learning Zulu was a bridge which enabled relationships to be formed and the growth of her business. This also relates to voluntary assimilation because Omo made a conscious effort to learn the language to enhance her relationships with South Africans and her business interests. This enabled her integration into the community through the development of different non-hostile ties, which include friends and customers.

iv. Faith-based organisation

Omo attends a church which she describes as a multi-ethnic faith-based organization, with a Ghanaian pastor, but more South African members than foreigners. She has been a member of this organization for seven years. Asked how she became a member of the church, she answered that,

I met a man speaking my language in a shop and I was so excited only to find out that he was from the same hometown as my husband and owned a church,

so I visited and joined the church... Him speaking my language drew me to him and made me join the church.

She describes how the church setting created a conducive environment for interaction between her and South Africans.

I am a member of the choir and this makes me interact more with South Africans because we have very few people who are not South Africans in the choir. I learnt South African songs and improved on the little Zulu I know... Every first Sunday of the month we dress in our various traditional regalia and we show case our various cultures through singing and dancing. This cultural show actually brings us together.

Omo also said that she interacted more with South Africans in church irrespective of the language barrier. She stated that being different and being treated differently also depends on a migrant's attitude:

I am treated as a normal person in church because of the way I portray myself. If you portray yourself as mixing with only people from your country, you will be treated differently... I believe that in some cases South Africans are xenophobic as a reactive measure to the African migrants who are themselves xenophobic to South Africans. If you always bring them close, they will accept you. But if you isolate them, they will isolate you.

Despite her diverse ties with South Africans, Omo shows that homophily draws people of the same culture together. She acknowledges that the common language between her and the pastor drew her to the church. However, this did not hinder the formation of diverse ties as she deliberately decided to also develop ties with South Africans. This was driven by her belief that self-isolation from South Africans within the religious setting will lead to exclusion by these South Africans. Berry (2005: 708) supports this thinking when he asserts that "when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. Here, individuals turn their back on involvement with other cultural groups, and turn inward toward their heritage culture". In that case, migrants' isolation from the hosts, in order to preserve their cultural identity, ultimately leads to their (migrants') self-exclusion. This concurs with the argument that contact can produce conviviality if both groups cooperate. In Omo's case,

she shows signs of willingness to determine a common goal with South Africans, which typifies conviviality. She explained that self-exclusion produces hostility from South Africans and her willingness to be open invariably produced acceptance from the in-group. Therefore, exclusion is not always driven by the host culture, but can be motivated by migrants' attitudes. The church is also a platform for bridging differences through dedicating certain days to openly highlight differences. This is consistent with Gilroy's (2004) argument on conviviality and Nuttall's (2009) views on entanglement that there are sites of interaction where people do not prioritise differences even though they exist. Gilroy (2004: ix) states that this interaction opens up the boundaries of cultural differences.

v. Friendship ties

Omo had friendship ties with more South Africans than with other nationalities, the reason being that,

I had to make a conscious effort to make friends because in the environment I was I could not find Nigerian friends and I decided to make friends with South Africans to make life comfortable... I need them in my everyday life and I can't isolate myself from them.

She further explains how she has benefitted from this type of state tie,

One of the longest South African friendships is since 2000. These friends meet me for guidance because of my Christian faith and we assist each other, emotionally, spiritually and financially...Being an African migrant does not impact on this relationship in a negative way. Through the years we have learnt to understand each other's culture and learnt bits of our languages. I have exposed them to our traditional attires and food and them also. The relationship is mutual beneficial to me and them.

Omo's friendship ties are mostly with South Africans because they enable her integration into South African society. This finding supports Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) argument that the presence of more ties with members of the host society enables migrants' integration. Her longest South African friendship tie is characterised by value homophily. In other words, the common value which they share, i.e., their Christian beliefs, acts as bridging social

capital. This common belief fosters cooperation and positive intergroup contact between them.

vi. Most important South African tie

Omo identified her most important South African tie as Zama who has been her friend for more than six years. This tie is important to her because of the emotional and spiritual support she receives from her friend.

vii. Zama's tie with Omo (Interviewed 10/10/14)

Zama is a middle class South African in her early 40s, who owns a play school in Empangeni. She states that she has known Omo for six years and they have been friends ever since. They interact on a weekly basis because of her tight schedule at work. Asked to describe her relationship with Omo she replies that,

She is my true friend. When I am down... spiritually, financially and emotionally, she is the first person I run to. Even when I have issues in my marriage, I go to her for advice. She is one of the most important persons in my life... We met in my working place and at first we would just greet each other because she was a customer. I was curious about her accent which was quite different and started chatting with her to know more. I found out she was a Christian and I am also a Christian, so we exchanged numbers and that's how we got here.

Asked if the fact that Omo is an African immigrant impacted on their relationship she responded,

Not at all. From the very first day we met I just liked her. It was clear she wasn't South African because of the way she spoke but that did not mean anything. Maybe it is because I have Nigerians as family members. My relative is married to a Nigerian and has children, so I don't see them as foreigners. They are part of me.

Zama's response shows that her contact with Omo and other Nigerians has produced a "self-other merging" where she perceives the other's differences as similar to hers. In her case,

intergroup contact produced conviviality and tolerance of Nigerians. Furthermore, as with Ntuli and Shola's tie, Omo and Zama show the presence of mutuality and reciprocity in their tie and also that the dyadic tie is symmetric in nature. According to Zama, cultural differences did not impact on her relationship with Omo because she had relatives who were also Nigerians. This made it easier for her to develop ties with Omo. Therefore, being Nigerian was not foreign to her.

9.3. Adesuwa's ties (Interviewed 10/09/14)

i. Migrating to South Africa

Adesuwa is a woman sampled from the working class, who migrated to South Africa in 1999 to join her husband, a petty trader who sells Nigerian hair products. She is in her late 30s and has a School Certificate which is equivalent to South Africa's matric. She was born in the Western part of Nigeria. She is a self-employed hairdresser who attends to her customers from her home. Asked why she migrated to South Africa, she responds that,

I came to South Africa to join my husband. He left in 2000 and I joined him after four years... My culture does not allow a man to be alone; in fact he is entitled to marry another woman to assist him if I fail in my duties. I came here to protect my home. I heard the South African women like our men and are very beautiful (laughs)... If my husband was not here, I would never have come. *Na condition make crayfish bend* [A popular idiom in Nigerian pidgin English that means circumstances forced my decision]. South Africa was not the country we wanted to go to, but because my husband couldn't get visa from UK and USA we decided to come here.

She joined her husband in Durban and moved to Empangeni in 2002. She explained that they moved to Empangeni because her husband could not get a job in Durban and was invited by a friend to work with him in Empangeni.

ii. Living arrangements

Adesuwa and her husband reside in a small house in Empangeni. She describes her living arrangements as unconducive because of the dilapidated state of the property.

We chose that place because it is cheap. It is a very small place. My flatmate is South African and she is neighbourly, but I am very careful with these people, you may never know... Hey I am careful because they are unpredictable, like the Hausas in Nigeria. One minute they are your friends and the next they can kill you over bread... My neighbours are mostly South Africans but I mind my business. So I can't say they are friendly... I mind my business because of past experience. There was a time I plaited a neighbour's hair, we agreed that she would pay R60, when I finished, she gave me only R30 and I asked, she refused and raised her voice, others came and started yelling, "thief! Go home!" I was so scared.

Her relationship with her flatmate is more cordial than hostile. Her response to the question on the nature of interaction with her neighbours shows that she adopts self-exclusion towards her South African neighbours. This she blames on a hostile encounter with one of them. In this case, spatial proximity did not evolve to social proximity, that is, contact did not produce conviviality.

iii. Workplace

As noted earlier, Adesuwa is a self-employed hair-dresser who works from home. She states that she has very few consistent customers. The majority of her customers are South African; very few non-South Africans patronize her.

I don't have close relationships with a lot of them, just three. Three of them are members of my *stokvel* [savings club]. It helps me save money... I get more unfriendliness and attacks from my less frequent customers who don't know me. The unfriendly ones are rude; they insult me in Zulu because they know I don't understand. The others are polite and friendly.

Adesuwa has event and state ties with her customers. Most of the hostility she experiences in her work environment is from her event ties. She identifies another unique relationship that evolved from her interaction with three South Africans that assists her financially.

iv. Friendship ties

On friendship ties, Adesuwa shows few state ties with South Africans. Various responses from her interview below expand on this.

Most of my friends are Nigerians and very few Ghanaians. I don't have a lot of South Africans as friends. To be frank, South Africans are not like us. They are violent and wild, so I avoid them as much as I can. See I stay among them, my next *dormot na Southie* [Pidgin words which mean close neighbor is a South African], it's different.

Probed on the nature of the relationship among the three *stokvel* members, she responds that she became acquainted with one, Thando five years ago, who was a customer's neighbour, and who connected her to the other two members of the *stokvel*.

They are good to me and very accommodating... My only problem is that they like men too much. My husband is uncomfortable with me being their friends. You know Southie people and their *waka waka* [Pidgin word which means promiscuity]. They know I can't speak Zulu, so they try to speak English, even though it is hard for them to communicate in English... We are different oh. They don't treat me differently but I am careful... They can steal my man. These people have low morals.

Adesuwa's contact with South Africans did not eradicate her stereotypes of them. These stereotypes impacted negatively on her willingness to interact with and form other types of ties like friendships. In other words, her attitude towards South Africans' cultural differences did not enable the development of bridging social capital and allow her to develop more network ties. Although she has friendship ties, language was a barrier in their interaction.

v. Most important South African tie

Asked who is the most important South African she relates to, she replies that her most important relationship is with Thando, who assists her financially, especially when she needs money to pay the *stokvel*. She further describes this relationship as important to her because of the support she gets from him.

vi. Thando's tie with Adesuwa (Interviewed 03/11/14)

Thando is a gardener who is in his early 30s. Asked how long he has known Adesuwa, he responded that, he has known her for more than four years. He describes the relationship as formal and responds that

I don't know why Adesuwa chose me as her most important South African tie because we are not so close. Maybe I am important to her, but she's not to me (laughs). We only see when we meet for our meetings (*stokvel*) ... I knew her through one of my neighbours who she made her hair. We are friends but she is not friendly and I think she has an attitude. She makes funny statements, for example if we are discussing something that has to do with South Africa, she says you people or South African women don't have respect. She feels she is better than us. We have a nickname for her, *nkosikazi yomlungu* [meaning white woman].

He further explains that the relationship is not important to him.

She is a member of my *stokvel*. We can replace her so we are doing her a favour... I lend her money sometimes to pay when she can't.

From Thando's side, it is clear that the relationship is asymmetrical because the way he describes the relationship differs from Adesuwa's account. As noted in Chapter three, reciprocity can only exist in a symmetrical tie as it has to do with a mutual response of the various interacting nodes. Therefore, the nature of the tie between them is asymmetrical. One of the reasons for this is Thando's feeling that Adesuwa has an exclusive attitude towards South Africans that is driven by boundaries of "us" and "them" through their various interactions.

Thando's response to the question on the impact of the fact that Adesuwa is an African migrant on the relationship was

Yes. She (Adesuwa) thinks we South Africans are not really Africans... She does not speak Zulu which makes it difficult to even communicate with her... I am careful when I relate with her. One time we were looking at my cousin's picture and they wore the Zulu attire because they were bare-chested, she said

this is so backward... I was offended but I just ignored... We are very different people culturally. She does not accept my culture and this makes me careful with her.

Adesuwa and Thando had equal economic status and cooperated towards a common goal, the *stokvel*. However, irrespective of these conditions, contact did not foster cooperation as a result of the lack of intimacy of contact. Cultural differences clearly impact negatively on developing intimacy of contact. The differences between Adesuwa and Thando did not dissolve with contact and interaction. Rather, it perpetuated and heightened these differences and his reservations about her. Adesuwa's self-exclusion that is motivated by various stereotypes of South Africans has produced an asymmetric tie that hinders the development of reciprocity.

9.4. Ifeanyi's experience (Interviewed 03/09/14)

i. Migrating to South Africa

Ifeanyi is a male migrant sampled from the working class group, who is currently unemployed. He is in his early 30s and has a School Certificate from Nigeria. He was born in the southern part of Nigeria. Asked to why he migrated to South Africa, he responded that, he came to seek employment. He lived in Johannesburg at first but moved to Empangeni to be closer to his relative who owns a business in the town. He describes the town as a very small, peaceful one, "where everyone knows each other".

Small towns like this have disadvantages and advantages. The advantage is that you have a strong community, like now the Nigerians here are very close. We help each other in any way we can. But the disadvantage is that everybody knows you... I mean as a foreigner you can't hide. The Southies can easily identify you. When there is crisis, this may become dangerous for you.

ii. Living arrangements

Ifeanyi resides in a rented room in a rural area in Empangeni previously reserved for black people during apartheid. His landlord is a South African man, who occupies the other two rooms. He shares a kitchen and bathroom with the landlord, two children and four

grandchildren. He describes his landlord and family as very nice, warm people, but added that he experiences hostility from his neighbours.

My landlord was xenophobic when I moved in. He would call me bad names. Say my food smells and I should cook outside. He used to say, “you Nigerians are thieves and are spoiling our country”. But he changed after... because he saw that I am not those things. But my neighbours are the direct opposite. My landlord tells me what they say about me. I know they hate me. I have had an old woman spit near my feet. I told my landlord and he said, he knows her, she doesn’t like me staying in this place.

It is clear that conviviality evolved from hostility in Ifeanyi’s relationship with his landlord to friendly, due to contact which led to the development of bridging capital. However, this was not the case with his neighbours, who chose to exclude him and in some cases, are hostile towards him for being different. Hence, he experienced the paradoxical effect of intergroup contact.

iii. Workplace

Although unemployed, Ifeanyi does various menial jobs like house cleaning, small construction and any job available. Asked to elaborate on his job seeking experiences, he responds that the legal bureaucracy involved in getting a work permit has made it difficult for him to obtain employment.

I can’t go back home because my family will be expecting me to come back rich but I am too ashamed to go back... My only option is to marry a South African but I can’t. Those women are not like our women. They cannot be under a man... Nigerian women are African women, they manage the home, but Zulu women will go out before you and come back midnight after you and expect you to cook and clean. If you don’t they will call the police. They are not women, oh, they are men.

Like Adesuwa, he has certain stereotypes of South African women, irrespective of his contact with them. He views marrying them as taboo because he sees them as culturally different from Nigerian women.

iv. Friendship ties

Asked about his friendship ties, Ifeanyi stated that he has more Nigerian friends and very few South African friends. He describes his friendship with these South Africans as “a means to an end”.

I don't trust South Africans and that makes me have few friends... These friends help me to get small jobs, so the relationship is a means to an end. We use each other. They don't like to work so when they get these menial jobs they invite me and we share the money. But they are the very few I can describe as friends.

He further explained that being different did not impact on the relationship from the South Africans' side.

(Laughs). Ok, they treat me like any normal person and I haven't noticed any funny treatment. I think I am the one that is wary of them. Like I said I really don't trust them... their lifestyle is scary. I don't let them know anything about me, my finances or plans. I treat them differently.

While he had contact with South Africans which developed into friendship ties, clearly, this did not change his negative perceptions of them. These cultural difference and stereotypes of South Africans also hindered Ifeanyi from developing more ties with South Africans. He showed little trust in South Africans which is paramount in developing bridging social capital. Asked about his closest relationship, he stated that he had none.

9.5. Conclusion

The four life experiences presented in this chapter show the paradoxical effects of intergroup contact and how these influenced the nature of the ties that evolved. For some, like Shola and Omo, in certain spatial dimensions, contact enabled the formation of concord. For these two Nigerians, contact had a more positive effect on their ties. However, in Adesuwa and Ifeanyi's cases, contact negatively impacted the nature of their ties. Most of their ties were characterized by hostility and exclusion. The experiences of the four migrants also show the varied nature of ties in the analysis of dyadic relations between Nigerians and South Africans resident in Umhlathuze Municipality. In some instances, the ties enabled integration of the migrants and in others it did not depending on the parties' responses to each other. For

example, Shola and Omo show a greater degree of integration and interaction with South Africans, while for Adesuwa and Ifeanyi, the reverse is the case. The findings show that two major factors enabled South Africans to form relationships with Nigerians. Firstly, as seen in Zama's case, having ties with other Nigerians makes it easier for South Africans to develop new ties with Nigerians. Another factor identified in Ntuli's network is that increased contact with Nigerians can enable the formation of friendship ties due to the presence of bridging capital which enables cultural exchange. The findings also show that class seems to influence the level of integration of migrants. Shola and Omo are from the middle class group while Adesuwa and Ifeanyi are from the working class group. Class not only enabled Shola's integration but his marriage to a South African. Moreover, the findings reveal that conservative gender identities influenced the formation of ties. For instance, in Adesuwa's case, her suspicious attitude towards the morality of South African women hindered the formation of ties with them. In other cases, gender identities led to cultural assimilation. For example, Shola's South African wife had to learn how to prepare Nigerian dishes. This assimilation cut both ways as Shola also had to accept some South African traditional practices like paying *lobola*.

The relationship between the Nigerian migrants and South Africans is characterized by mixed responses ranging from exclusion, to assimilation, cosmopolitanism and conviviality. This is consistent with Amin's (2012) argument that there are broader categories of relationship between strangers. These evolve with time, spanning a range of responses from hostile to friendly on both sides. Therefore, alongside xenophobia, conviviality, cosmopolitanism and intercultural exchanges exist in the relationships between Nigerian migrants and South Africans. The binary question of *are we friends or foes?* misses the grey line in between and is therefore too narrow to fully capture everyday realities. A network analysis of multiple relationships between African migrants and South Africans would perhaps be more revealing of the nuances that shape relations between these groups.

CHAPTER 10: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed to holistically examine and explain the nature of interactions between African migrants and South African citizens by analysing the social network ties that connect Nigerians and South Africans in the specific case of Umhlathuze Municipality. It sought to offer a more rounded interpretation of relations between South Africans and migrants which are predominantly characterised as hostile. The sub-sections below summarize the main findings of the study in line with its objectives.

10.1. Formation and nature of relationships

A number of questions were asked around the formation and evolution of these relationships, and how migrants characterize the interactions and the gains, including the support derived from the relationships. They began by asking why the migrants migrated to the host country in the first place because drivers of migration would normally have an impact on the nature of relations that a migrant will pursue. The findings showed that the rationale for migrating to South Africa had a gendered dimension. Most of the males migrated to South Africa for economic reasons, while most of the females migrated for marital reasons. This is consistent with Kanaiaupuni's (1999: 1) observation that the motivation for migration differs among males and females. While the male migrants were primary migrants, the majority of the females were secondary movers. This confirms Balan's (1981: 228) finding that women's decision to migrate is usually "a consequence of the decision made by the primary movers." In terms of migration destination, this study also revealed that, irrespective of class and gender, most migrants chose Umhlathuze as their final destination because of the economic opportunities it offered compared to big cities in South Africa.

The migrants were asked to identify their most important relationship with a South African. The idea was to examine how these relationships evolved and the findings show that most of these dyadic ties evolved from event ties to state ties. Thirty-two (32) of the Nigerian migrants named one relationship with a South African as important and these relationships spanned various sites of interaction. Typical examples of these ties include the ones between Shola and Ntuli and Omo and Zama. The findings support Amin's (2002) argument that various sites enable the formation of relationships through frequent interactions between perceived strangers. The contact theory argues that the sustained interaction of diverse

groups ultimately results in the reduction of prejudice and the development of conviviality (Dixon et al 2005: 697). As the study shows, this is not always the case. Various spaces of interaction were investigated that made the formation of network ties possible over time through sustained interaction. These include workplaces, religious settings and neighborhoods. According to Carter and Jones (1989: 169), these kinds of spaces of interaction, which they also refer to as communities, enable the formation of networks as a result of frequent interaction of those who reside in them.

Many of the Nigerian research participants described their relations with the South Africans in their spaces of interaction as largely non-hostile. This is not to say that prejudice and hostility were always absent. Indeed, some of the accounts of what the research participants now present as positive relationships showed that prejudice and hostility were eventually overcome by assimilation as well as social capital. One such example is John who experienced exclusion due to language barriers but overcame this by adopting the language which enabled him to bridge this difference and develop ties with colleagues that were once hostile towards him. This shows that some migrants showed signs of voluntary assimilation based on a sense of cosmopolitanism which involves a predisposition to show interest in and accept a culture different from one's own (Skrbis and Woodward 2005: 2). In their various places of work, the responses Nigerians got from South Africans they worked with varied from exclusion, to cultural exchanges and entanglements, cosmopolitanism and conviviality. This supports Durrheim et al's (2014) argument on the paradoxical effect of intergroup contact. While, on the one hand, it can produce inclusion and conviviality, on the other, it can lead to hostility and exclusion. The study therefore noted that it was impossible to rigidly characterize the egos' and alters' relationships as either hostile or non-hostile as this does not account for the variety of responses of different individuals to similar situations. Migrant/host communities' relations are usually more complex.

Further to the nature of interactions and relationships with South Africans at the work place, the study showed that although all the migrants experienced hostility in their work environments, the level of hostility differed across class and gender. Most of the middle class migrants (64%) described their work environment as friendly, which is a far cry from the working class (7%). Conversely, those (29%) that described their workplaces as mostly

hostile were all males from the working class group. This shows that gender and class influence the formation of migrants' ties with members of the host community; it supports Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) finding that females are more likely to develop network ties than males and that class impacts on the formation of ties. While it can be concluded that more female than male migrants tended to develop ties with South Africans³⁰, we should not hastily conclude that middle class male or female migrants develop more network ties than their working class counterparts. This is because in the first instance, working class female migrants in this study developed ties as much as those in the middle class. Secondly, we may need to expand the sample size of this study to all known Nigerians in Umhlathuze to be able to reasonably make such a conclusion about Nigerians in the area.

Other spaces of interaction were also investigated, including migrants' faith-based organizations and their neighbourhoods. The study noted that none of the respondents reported that they experienced any form of hostility and exclusion in their various religious settings. Rather, they were platforms for bridging cultural differences between egos and alters. This is consistent with Gilroy's (2004) argument on conviviality and Nuttal's (2009) views on entanglement that note that there are sites of interaction where people do not prioritise differences even though they exist. The convivial relations that developed in all religious settings were the result of the common beliefs that unified the diverse groups. This pertains to Pettigrew's (1998) argument that contact between diverse groups can enable them to overcome prejudice if there is cooperation towards a common goal. However, in their various neighborhoods, the migrants and alters had mixed interactions. Some described their neighborhoods as both friendly and unfriendly, while others stated that there was not much interaction with their neighbors. However, other intervening variables could impact on these findings. For example, the nature of a migrant's job could make it almost impossible for him/her to closely interact with his/her South African neighbors.

Relatedly, the study also identified two types of ties; state and event ties which the egos had developed with South Africans. The various state ties identified consisted of kinship ties,

³⁰ This was the case as other than their identified most important South African tie, more females had ties with South Africans than males. This emerged in the responses to the question on whether they had more South African or Nigerian friends, or friends of other African nationalities.

friendship ties, and ties with work colleagues and clergy. Hostility from members of the host communities was mainly present in event ties. For instance, egos such as Shola and Omo experienced hostilities from event ties with their once-off customers. The study noted that certain event ties evolved to state ties due to increased interaction with alters in the various interactive spaces and this removed the stranger label from egos, thereby creating a sense of homogeneity among diverse cultures as a result of cosmopolitanism, cultural entanglement and assimilation. This corroborates Gsir's (2014: 9) argument that increased social interaction between diverse groups not only reduces hostility and exclusion, but enables the formation of networks between them, thereby creating a sense of homogeneity in the long run. This was possible as a result of the intimate nature of the various intergroup contacts. "Intimacy develops through deep communication: sustained, reciprocal, escalating conversations in which two friends come to know each other in a meaningful way" (Everett and Onu 2013: n p.). This condition fostered positive relations among these ties. However, there were some exceptions such as the case of Osamudiamen who had a hostile relationship with his South African colleagues at the workplace. In this situation, latent stereotypes and prejudice resurfaced due to contact with South Africans in the workplace.

The study further identified the nature of friendship ties in the migrants' relations with South Africans. The Nigerian migrants were asked to identify the groups they had more friends in, amongst South Africans, Nigerians and other African nationalities. The results showed that a majority of the egos (53%) had mostly South African friends. While this is hardly surprising given that they all live in South Africa, this helps to confirm the premise of this study; that immigrants interact with South Africans in their everyday lives and that not all interactions are hostile. If this was the case, immigrants would hardly continue to form friendship ties with South Africans even if they continue to stay in the country for economic survival purposes. Again, among this group women had more South Africans as friends than men. This supports Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) argument that female migrants tend to have more friendship ties than male migrants because of the relaxed spaces of interaction where they meet host members as opposed to those of men. The study also revealed that the existence of friendship ties with alters influenced the migrants' social and economic integration, as in the case of Joan, into the host community. The egos not only accrued economic forms of support such as information and resources, but this type of tie led to cultural exchanges between the egos and alters which helped bridge social differences among

them. Gsir (2014: 9) argues that “interethnic friendship gives opportunities for better reciprocal knowledge and brings migrants and natives closer allowing the exchanges of socio-cultural codes, practices, languages, etc. It can also reduce mutual prejudice.” Only 36% of the egos stated that they had more Nigerian than South African friends. The other 11% stated that they had no South African friends. This group were all working class migrants.

Kinship ties with South Africans were another state tie of Nigerian immigrants. However, this type of tie was only present among male migrants. This was the case because most female alters were secondary movers who were already married before migrating to South Africa. The findings of the study revealed that most migrants experienced a similar trend of initial non-acceptance by their spouses’ family members due to cultural differences. However, after social interaction, intimate contact evolved and bridging social capital developed as in the case of Shola, Mark and Toju, and this led to the development of more hospitable ties. As noted in the study, marriage is a bridging tool for people with cultural diversities. Gsir (2014) calls it exogamy which does not just involve the marriage of two people but two diverse cultures. It was noted that another implication of these kinship ties was the production of hybrid children. The second generation of the alters and egos are hybrids and this development has the potential to blur socio-cultural boundaries between Nigerians and South Africans. Shola’s children are typical examples; he describes them as “100% Nigerians and 100% South Africans”. Although some South African respondents raised concerns about this situation in terms of identity classification and the loss of culture, its potential to bridge diversity and build friendship, understanding and peace across geographical and cultural divides cannot easily be brushed aside.

10.2. Characteristics of dyadic ties

Understanding the characteristics of the dyadic ties between the Nigerian immigrants and South Africans sampled in this study is important in unraveling the nature of these relationships. Although the study explored the varied nature of ties the immigrants had with South Africans, it also focused on the egos’ most important South African tie, reciprocity between them and the kind of support gained by each pair of ego and alter from these ties.

The most important South African ties identified by the egos consisted of ties with spouses/partners, friends, and work colleagues and clergy. The majority of the migrants (36%) indicated that their most important South African ties were with friends. These state ties were instrumental in bridging the social differences between the alters and egos and were also platforms for cultural exchanges and entanglement as seen in Joan and Omo's case. This concurs with Facchini et al's (2003: 3) observation that friendship ties between diverse people create a sense of homogeneity. Another group (13%) identified their ties with work colleagues as their most important South African tie. This group consisted of mainly middle class migrants. Some egos (6%) identified their most important South African tie as clergy. It is not surprising that work relationships and ties with clergy were identified as important to the egos. Amin (2012: 79) identifies the workplace and religious settings as sites that enable interaction of diverse people and the "unmasking of unknown strangers". This concurs with the findings of this study.

The alters' responses on the nature of their ties with the egos revealed that the most important South African ties were mainly male (66%), with fewer females (34%). Ties with spouses/partners consisted of only females, whereas male alters were more present than females in friendship ties and ties with work colleagues and clergy. In respect of class, there were more middle class than working class alters. Notwithstanding, my aforementioned reservations in this regard, this again concurs with arguments by other scholars that host members from higher level income and skills groups are more likely to develop ties with migrants irrespective of the presence of cultural diversity (Constant et al 2008; Croucher 2008).

In terms of support gained from the dyadic relationships, the study shows that the support the Nigerian migrants received from their South African ties enabled their integration in Umhlathuze Municipality. Such support is both tangible and intangible. This finding is in line with other studies that posit that migrants can access support that aids their integration through ties with members of the host community (Lubber et al 2007; Miguel and Tranmer 2009; Liu Farrer 2010). For example, the benefits Toju and Ntombi gained from being married were affective (intangible) and financial (tangible). Toju was able to get a work permit and a job because of his marriage to Ntombi, which enabled his economic integration.

Ntombi on the other hand, gained affective support from him. Another typical example is Nosa and Marvin's case, where the benefits gained were also tangible (mentoring, advice) and intangible (reduce stress). In these cases the support gained was from both sides and thus two-directional. However, this was not the case in all ties. Some dyadic ties showed a one-directional flow of benefits. For example, Moses accrued tangible support from his tie with Nkosi while Nkosi stated he did not gain any support from this tie.

The study also checked for the presence of reciprocity in these dyadic ties and the findings showed that the majority (63%) of the dyadic ties were symmetric ties that were characterized by reciprocity between the egos and alters. There were more males than females in the ties that showed reciprocity. However, not all ties showed symmetry as 36% were asymmetrical because the egos may have valued the ties more than the alters. This group also had more male alters who were mostly middle class South Africans. It is noted that although the various asymmetric ties lacked reciprocity, this does not imply that these ties were not instrumental or beneficial to migrants. This is so because the migrants gained support from the various asymmetric ties. Non-directional ties, for example Funmi's tie with Futhi and that of Moses with Nkosi, were still beneficial to Funmi and Moses. Irrespective of whether they were weak or strong, both ties were channels through which the egos gained support from the alters. Therefore, "relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for transfer or 'flow' of resources (either material or non-material)" (Hatala 2006: 50). These kinds of support enabled the integration of the African migrants irrespective of whether the ties were symmetric or asymmetric and irrespective of the level of reciprocity between them.

Only a few egos (four out of the 36, or 11%) stated that they did not have any most important South African tie within their networks. This group of migrants experienced feelings of disconnection from South Africans and also adopted exclusion as a self-imposed strategy to avoid getting sucked into South African culture, as seen in Rex's case. This means that exclusion not only refers to members of the host community treating migrants as social pariahs; it can be a self-imposed strategy by migrants to prevent them from being culturally integrated into the host community. This is consistent with Berry's (2005: 705) study that found that migrants may "withdraw from the acculturation arena."

10.3. Influence of national and ethnic differences on network ties

In examining the nature of ties between African migrants and South Africans, the study also investigated whether national and ethnic differences influenced the formation of ties between these two groups. The specific research question was, what do migrants who have an important relationship with a South African and the South Africans themselves think about the impact of their particular ethnic identities on their association with one another? Many of the alters reported that the egos' country of origin did not impact on their relationship. The various reasons identified for why this was the case include pan-Africanism, exposure as a result of being African migrants themselves, religion and *Ubuntu*. However, a few stated that national differences negatively impacted on their ties as a result of cultural diversity, and certain stereotypes of African migrants as drug peddlers and perpetrators of crime as well as negative experiences with African migrants.

Furthermore, beyond country of origin, the study investigated whether cultural differences impacted the network ties between the egos and alters. The study revealed that most of the network ties were influenced by cultural differences and that this influence was both positive and negative. For the majority of the networks, these differences positively impacted their relationships. For instance, the study showed that for most alters and egos, cultural exchanges, otherwise known as cosmopolitanism, fostered the integration of migrants and the formation of positive relationships. This was two-directional as there were instances where alters adopted the culture of the egos and vice versa. For example, some South Africans learnt some words in Nigerian languages, and about Nigerian food and clothing, and vice versa for the Nigerians. Social capital was employed as a bridge not to homogenize the diversity of culture but rather to enable the formation of ties irrespective of differences. Simply put, bridging social capital within the relationship fostered interaction through the entanglement of people across social differences. However, this was not the case in all the relationships. A few migrants and South Africans stated that cultural differences hampered the formation of ties between them. This was as a result of differences in language and cultural practices which were major barriers to the formation of ties. In such cases, social capital was very low, the migrants showed a minimal level of integration and the ties with alters were mostly asymmetrical.

The study also investigated whether the fact that the egos are African migrants impacted on the nature of the alters' dyadic ties with them. The majority (72%) of the alters stated that

this was not the case. The various reasons provided include pan-Africanism, religion and cosmopolitanism. Alters employed social capital as a bridge to foster the formation of ties irrespective of the presence of social diversity. However, a small percentage of alters (28%) stated that the fact that the egos are African migrants impacted on their various ties due to cultural differences and stereotypes of African migrants. Therefore, the study posits that cultural differences do not always hinder the formation of ties between migrants and members of the host community. Rather, as shown in this study, in some cases it led to entanglement of diverse people, cosmopolitanism, conviviality, and hospitality which helped bridge these differences with the potential for integration. In other words, the boundaries of social differences are quite hard to pin down. As the study shows, differences based on cultural origin can be bridged by other commonalities that the migrants and South Africans share. These could take the form of a common job or religious belief. Therefore, people are not simply bridging social differences but discovering actual commonalities. A typical example is the case of Sne, who identified pan-Africanism as a common social identity that she shared with African migrants beyond the difference of nationalities.

10.4. Class and gender and the formation of ties

One of the objectives of the study was to investigate the impact of other social categories which influenced the relationships among the nodes in the network. The specific research question in this regard was, how are these relations affected by class and gender? One major finding is that class impacted on the formation of network ties between African migrants and members of the host community. Although all the migrants experienced both hostility and non-hostility, the group of African migrants sampled from the middle class reported less hostility and more interaction with South Africans. This was not the case amongst migrants from the working class. For example, in their responses on the question of which group between South Africans, Nigerians and other Africans they related more to, the majority of the middle class migrants stated that they had mostly South Africans as friends. Their relationships in their work places were also mostly friendly compared to the working class that described theirs as mostly hostile. However, this does not dispute the fact that both groups had relationships that were convivial and hostile. The findings also revealed that all the middle class migrants identified their most important South African tie within their personal networks as their most important relationship; this was not the case in the working class group where four migrants could not identify any most important South African

relationship. This implies that the migrants were not equally accommodated in the host society and that class was a major factor not just in creating ties with members of the host community, but in their integration into this community. The findings could be different if the sample covered the more than 120 Nigerian migrants resident in Umhlathuze. In addition, among the alters identified as the most important South African tie, the majority were middle class South Africans. This means that the migrants related more within and above their class lines than below. However, there was the single case of Onome, a middle class ego who identified Sne, a working class alter as her most important South African tie.

Another social category investigated was gender and its impact on the formation of networks with South Africans. Firstly, the study revealed that most female migrants were secondary migrants. The majority of the females sampled decided to migrate due to the various decisions of their primary movers, which in this case were their husbands. Very few migrated for personal reasons. Secondly, none of the female migrants had kinship ties with South Africans; all the kinship ties identified within the study were among the male migrants married to South Africans. This clearly shows that males are more likely to integrate through marriage than females as there are more marriages between Nigerian male migrants and South African women than vice versa. Another major finding of the study is that female migrants experienced less hostility than males in their various spaces of interaction. For instance, the majority of the females sampled stated that their work environments were mostly friendly, while those that described theirs as mostly hostile were predominantly male. Female migrants also had more South African friends within their friendship ties. Gender not only impacted on the formation of network ties, but influenced the type of tie. More women than men had friendships as their most important relationship. In addition, more males than females did not identify any most important tie with South Africans within their personal networks. On the other hand, the majority of alters identified as the most important relationship were male South Africans. Therefore, South African alters are more likely to be male. This differs from Miguel and Tranmer's (2009) study of Spanish migrants, which argues that females are more likely to be migrants' alters because of the more relaxed and informal spaces of interaction when compared to males. Therefore, gender impacted on the network ties of the migrants as females had more interaction with South Africans than males. A class and gender analysis of the employment status of the sampled migrants shows that a good number of the working class females were unemployed compared to their middle class

counterparts (females) who were all employed. All in all, there was a link between educational qualifications and class and this cut across both genders.

10.5. Perceptions held by South Africans of African migration

One of the broad aims of the study was to investigate South Africans' perceptions of African migration. The study revealed that a majority of the South African respondents was not opposed to African migration but felt that the South African government should impose restrictions to regulate it. This shows that selective exclusion of African migrants is supported by South Africans in order to ensure that only those African migrants that can contribute to the social and economic wellbeing of society are integrated into the host community. At the one extreme of this argument were those who proposed that African migrants be allowed into South Africa without any restrictions or visa requirements. This group argues that unrestricted African migration will benefit South Africa socially and economically and also eradicate xenophobia. Those at the other extreme proposed total prohibition of African migration as it fosters competition for resources, criminal activities and the importation of diseases. One of the South Africans who had convivial relations with a Nigerian advocated for such strict policy. This explains the limitations of the contact theory put forward by some scholars. For example, Dixon and Durrheim (2003) state in their study that even when concord is developed in micro-public spaces, it does not translate to broader spaces. Therefore, comparing the findings with other studies that explain African migrants' relations with South Africans as xenophobic, this study shows that exploring this relationship through the lens of xenophobia does not necessarily give a full picture of its complexity. Ultimately, at the lower levels of interaction, in various formal and informal spaces, networks ties have developed which has enabled the integration of Nigerian migrants into South Africa. In addition, webs of relationships have developed which are not always hostile or xenophobic.

10.6. Conclusion

The demise of apartheid led to the rescinding of many restrictive laws and policies, including immigration policies which perpetuated apartheid. The apartheid immigration policy is described as a two-gate policy which was restrictive towards the African race but more liberal towards the white race from outside the country in order to offset the population imbalance occasioned by a black majority (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti et al 2006: 173-

174). The post-1994 government thus inherited the responsibility of transforming the Aliens Control Act into a more representative and inclusive legislative and policy framework. The Act was replaced by the Aliens Amendment Act (1995). However, scholars have argued that post-apartheid immigration policy was also exclusionary. For instance, in 1996 many illegal immigrants were deported to their various home countries, and the statistics show that 98% of these deportees were from African countries even though there were as many illegal immigrants from outside Africa in the country (Maharaj 2004: 3). These kinds of developments set the tone for the racial nature of xenophobia experienced in post-apartheid South Africa, especially between 2008 and 2015.

Past immigration legislation, including the Immigration Act No.13 (2002) the Immigration Amendment Act of 2004 and Immigration Amendment Act of 2013 tackled the problems of skills shortages that plagued the country's economy by encouraging the immigration of people with skills, but did not address the exclusionary nature of the previous legislation. Although only recently implemented, the new Immigration Regulations of 2014 have been described as more stringent and exclusive. According to Hamill (2014), they reinforce the stereotyping of African migrants as aliens, prevent African migration and expose those within the country to various vulnerabilities. It is clear that, on the part of the state, the impasse in how to deal with the challenges of African immigration to South Africa remains unresolved. This is cause for concern as African migration to South Africa is an unavoidable phenomenon given the reality of globalization and the crises of underdevelopment which plagues much of the continent. In terms of citizens, South Africans have typically, as peoples of other nations would, resisted African migration not only due to economic reasons which include stiffer competition for resources and jobs, but also due to the fear of cultural differences that could fragment the perceived homogeneity of South African society. Therefore, anybody alien to South African society is viewed as the *Other* who disrupts the new rainbow nation and xenophobia, deployed as a form of nationalism, has become a tool to prevent the diversification of a unified social fabric.

However, this is not the entire story. Even in the face of the gruesome display of xenophobia that is targeted specifically at African migrants and which this study confirms, I contend that there are spaces of positive interactions between South Africans and African immigrants that

have not sufficiently come to the fore to tell a more nuanced and balanced story of African immigration in South Africa. Based on this premise, this study investigated the everyday realities of migrants in ordinary places who interact with a variety of people through their livelihood activities, marriages and social relationships, in their residential areas, in faith-based organizations and other elements of everyday life. The study examined the breadth of everyday relationships within the specific context of a small settlement, Umhlathuze Municipality. Its central argument is that xenophobia, a multi-faceted phenomenon, is only one of the various forms of interactions between African migrants and South Africans which are both hostile and non-hostile. Therefore, this study does not contest that there is hostility in the relations between South Africans and African migrants. Indeed, the recent 2015 xenophobic violence which the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Malusi Gigaba aptly describes as afrophobia, served to reinforce popular understanding of relations between black South Africans and African immigrants as very hostile. However, even during the gloomy period of the March/April 2015 xenophobic violence against mostly African immigrants, the activities of many other South Africans (Black and White) at various levels have shown that it would be uncritical to only paint relations between South Africans and African immigrants with a brush of hostility. For example, apart from the 15 April 2015 march by South Africans against xenophobia in Durban³¹, support for African immigrants by South Africans who were reported to have rescued, sheltered and protected immigrants during the violence all serve to buttress the point we have tried to make in this study³² (Thebe Ikalafeng, *The Sunday Independent*, 13 April 2015; SABC News, Friday 24 April 2015, 13:37).

Africans will continue to migrate into South Africa and South Africans will also increasingly migrate into the continent for all the kinds of reasons that have traditionally fuelled migration. Managing relations between migrant and host communities and appropriating the development potential of immigration has always been a challenge, and the case of South Africa presents a bigger challenge given its history of apartheid which tended to disconnect black South Africans from the rest of Africa and thus create a people who do not feel a sense of historical connectedness with the rest of the continent. Using the case of Nigerian

³¹ This march of more than 3,000 people was led by the KwaZulu-Natal Premier and government officials at various municipal levels, with civil society representatives and ordinary citizens also in attendance. Its significance was not blighted by the opposing march of over 200 other South Africans who insisted on being anti-foreigner.

³² Although this is not an acceptable reference source, social media is also awash with personal stories of African immigrants who were assisted by South Africans during the crisis.

migrants, this study has shown that there are positive relations between African migrants and their host communities in South Africa which developed as a result of contact with one another in the country. Although varied, the interactions and what bind them run deep to the personal beyond ethnic and national differences as can be seen in cases of black South Africans choosing to protect African immigrants from xenophobic attacks and marching against xenophobia. These are all a function of the network ties developed through interaction with one another over time in South Africa. There is need to tell more of these stories of positive interaction between African immigrants and South Africans and for this process to be encouraged to grow through national re-orientation of South Africans on the place of immigration in national development, focusing on the specific contributions that African immigrants make.

Flowing from all these arguments, there is need for South Africa to rethink its immigration policy in relation to Africa and Africans. One of the arguments put forward by contact theorists is that institutional norms that favour intergroup contact enable the development of conviviality and hospitality (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Conviviality at the top will complement it at the bottom. Although this study acknowledges that contact does not always reduce prejudice, tension and conflict, there are certain conditions under which it does so and thus aids integration. Examples of these conditions in the literature which were validated by the findings of this study include economic interdependence, social bridging capital, and marriage. Policy suggestions in this regard include a call to government to improve on the 2014 legislation to create spaces for skilled African immigrants to come to South Africa to work, live and be integrated. Secondly, the government needs to take the lead in changing the discourse on African immigration from “African immigrants are a problem in South Africa” to “we need migrants, both Africans and non-Africans, to grow and develop to our full potential as a developing nation”. Finally, the government should collaborate with the consular offices of African foreign missions in South Africa and civil society groups to develop and implement intercultural and exchange programs that showcase cultural diversity to enable social cohesion between African immigrants and South Africans.

10.7. Suggestions for further research

Various research issues arose from this study that require further investigation. These could form part of further research on relationships between African migrants and South Africans. Firstly, based on a limitation of this study in terms of its focus on dyadic ties, there is need to conduct a more holistic analysis of social networks in order to examine intergroup contacts beyond micro-public spaces. Furthermore, beyond dyadic relations, a network study of multiple relations between South Africans and African migrants would provide a more holistic and thus illuminating picture of African immigration in South Africa which may have more evidence-based policy implications. This study has also shown that females are more likely to develop network ties than males, but the reason why this is the case needs to be investigated and confirmed on a bigger scale. Further investigation is required of the interface between networks amongst migrants and networks between migrants. Finally, while this study showed that ties exist between African migrants and South Africans and revealed the various factors that enabled the formation of these ties and the nature of these relationships, further research should be conducted to explore the factors that mitigate against the formation of network ties between them.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Nigerian Migrants

Section A: Informed consent:

I am conducting a network analysis on the everyday interactions between African immigrants and South African citizens in small towns in Umhlathuze Municipality. The purpose of this research is to examine and explain the nature of interactions between Nigerian migrants and South African citizens by analysing the social network ties that connect them.

I crave your indulgence to participate voluntarily in this study and attest that your participation will be kept confidential. I can confirm that no harm shall come to you on account of your participation in this study if you choose to participate. You are free to opt out at any stage of the survey if you so feel.

Section B: Personal information

1. How old are you?

Age	Tick x
20 – 30	
31- 40	
41- 50	
51- 60	
61 and above	

2. Sex:

Male	
Female	

3. Income

R5,000- R10, 000	
R11, 000- R15, 000	
R16, 000- R20, 000	
Above R20, 000	

Section C: Formations and Nature of Social Networks

1. Before immigrating to South Africa

- 1.1. Could you tell me where you were born and where you grew up?
- 1.2. When were you born?
- 1.3. What kind of work did your parents do?

2. Migrating to South Africa

- 2.1. When did you come to South Africa?
- 2.2. Can you tell me about the process through which you decided to come to South Africa. (Probe: why did you chose South Africa? Did you travel alone or with others, e.g. family. Did you come to be with family or friends?)
- 2.3. Did you come directly to Empangeni or did you stay elsewhere first? Why did you come to Empangeni specifically?

3. Life in Empangeni

- 3.1. What are your impressions of Empangeni Town?
- 3.2. Can you tell me about how your life has changed while living in Empangeni?

4. Living arrangements

- 4.1. Do you have a family? (If yes, does your family live with you or elsewhere)
- 4.2. (If family lives elsewhere, do you live alone or do you share a house with others, who? If renting with others are they also foreigners or are there South Africans? Please can you tell me more about these relationships)
- 4.3. Where do you live (i.e. which part of town? Is it the rural or urban part of town? What kind of accommodation: do you live in a house or an apartment or a granny flat or a shack?)
- 4.4. Why did you decide to live there?
- 4.5. Do you own your accommodation or are you a tenant?
- 4.6. (If a tenant) Who is the owner of the house? (Probe to find out a bit more about that relationship, particularly if they are South African)
- 4.7. What are your neighbours like?
- 4.8. Do you have any interactions with them? Can you give me examples?
- 4.9. Would you characterise the neighbourhood as friendly or unfriendly?

5. Study

- 5.1. What is your highest level of education?
- 5.2. Where did you acquire this qualification?
- 5.3. Are you studying at the moment?
- 5.4. Would you say that the study environment was hospitable towards you?
- 5.5. Would you say that your most important relationships during study were with other foreigners or did you also have important relationships with South Africans?

6. Work/income

- 6.1. Do you have a job or an income from self-employment? (If not, go to question 6.10)
- 6.2. (If so...) Please explain what work you do and how you got this work.
- 6.3. What are your daily interactions like with colleagues and customers? Do you have lots of repeat interactions with the same people or do you see a large number of new people every day?
- 6.4. Do you have any close relationships at work? Who are these relationships with?
- 6.5. Would you characterise interactions at work as friendly or unfriendly? Please give me some examples if you can.

- 6.6. Would you say that your most important relationships at work are with other foreigners or did you also have important relationships with South Africans?
- 6.7. (If the latter...) Please explain why you think your relationship with South Africans was important.
- 6.8. How often do you meet with these South Africans?
- 6.9. Where do you usually meet?
- 6.10. (If the person does not have work) Have you tried looking for work?
- 6.11. (If so) What has that process been like?
- 6.12. Why do you think you have been unsuccessful?

7 Children (Only applicable to those who have children that reside in Empangeni)

- 7.1. Do your children go to school here?
- 7.2. What level are they?
- 7.3. For how long have they been attending the school?
- 7.4. What do you like or dislike about the school?
- 7.5. Do you interact with the academic staff or other parents with children in the school?
- 7.6. If yes, what is the nature of these interactions?
- 7.6. Do these interactions involve South Africans or non-South Africans?
- 7.8. Why is this the case?
- 7.9. Does being an African immigrant impact on these interactions?
- 7.10. Are you treated differently because you are a migrant?
- 7.11. Why is this the case?
- 7.12. Are there academic staff or parents who are South Africans that you are friends with?
- 7.13. If yes, can you please tell me more about the relationship?

8 Faith based

- 8.1. Do you attend a faith based organisation and if so which? (If not skip this section)
- 8.2. How often do you attend?
- 8.3. Are most people there foreigners or South African?
- 8.4. Is the leader of that organisation South African?
- 8.5. For how long have you belonged to the organisation?
- 8.6. Do you interact with members of the faith-based organisation?
- 8.7. If yes, what is the nature of these interactions?
- 8.9. Do these interactions involve South Africans or non-South Africans?
- 8.10. Why is this the case?
- 8.11. Does being an African immigrant impact on these interactions?
- 8.12. Are you treated differently because you are a migrant?
- 8.13. Why is this the case?
- 8.14. Is there a particular member that you are closest to?
- 8.15. Is that person a South African?
- 8.16. If yes, what is the nature of that relationship?

9. Social Organizations

- 9.1. Are you a member of a sport, club or any other social organization?
- 9.2. What kind of organisation is that?
- 9.3. What activities do you do?
- 9.4. For how long have you been a member of the organisation?
- 9.5. Are there also South African and non-South African members?
- 9.6. Do you interact with these members?
- 9.7. If yes, what is the nature of these interactions?
- 9.8. Do these interactions involve South Africans or non-South Africans?
- 9.9. Why is this the case?

- 9.10. Does being an African immigrant impact on these interactions?
- 9.11. Are you treated differently because you are a migrant?
- 9.12. Why is this the case?
- 9.13. Are there members of the social organization who are South Africans that you are friends with?
- 9.14. If yes, can you please tell me more about the relationship?

10. Friendship Ties

- 10.1. Do you have friends?
- 10.2. Are they mostly South Africans or non-South Africans?
- 10.3. Why is this the case?
- 10.4. If they are South Africans, how did you become friends with them?
- 10.5. For how long have you been friends with them?
- 10.6. Can you please tell me more about the friendship?
- 10.7. Does being an African immigrant impact on this friendship?
- 10.8. Are you treated differently because you are a migrant?
- 10.9. Why is this the case?

11. Kinship Ties

- 11.1. Are you related to a South African?
- 11.2. How are you related?
- 11.3. Do you interact with your relations?
- 11.4. What do you like or dislike about them?
- 11.5. Can you please tell me more about your relationship?
- 11.6. Does being an African immigrant impact on this relationship?
- 11.7. Are you treated differently because you are a migrant?
- 11.8. Why is this the case?

Section C: Name Generator Question

- 1. Who is the most important South African that you relate with?

2. Is this individual important to you?
3. Why is this individual important to you?
4. Can you kindly tell me about your relationship with this South African?
5. Can I approach this person for an interview?
6. If yes, please kindly provide me with his/her contact details

Many thanks for participating in this study.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for South Africans within the African Immigrants' Network

Section A: Informed consent:

I am conducting a network analysis on the everyday interactions between African immigrants and South African citizens in small towns in Umhlathuze Municipality. The purpose of this research is to examine and explain the nature of interactions between African migrants and South African citizens by analysing the social network ties that connect them.

I crave your indulgence to participate voluntarily in this study and attest that your participation will be kept confidential. I can confirm that no harm shall come to you on account of your participation in this study if you choose to participate. You are free to opt out at any stage of the survey if you so feel.

Section B: Personal information

1. Place of interview _____
2. How old are you?

	Tick x
20 – 30	
31- 40	
41- 50	
51- 60	
61 and above	

3. Sex:

4. Education

Below matric	
Matric	
Tertiary	
Other (please specify)	

5. Occupation

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6. Income

R5,000- R10, 000	
R11, 000- R15, 000	
R16, 000- R20, 000	
Above R20, 000	

Section C: Nature of relationship within the Social Network

7. Do you know Respondent A?
8. For how long have you known him?
9. How did you meet him/her?
10. How often do you interact with him/her?
11. How would you describe your relationship with him/her?
12. How important is this relationship to you?
13. Do you benefit from the relationship?
14. Please can you elaborate on your answer?
15. What do you like or dislike about him/her?
16. Does Respondent A being a Nigerian immigrant impact on this relationship?
17. Why is this the case?
18. Do you relate with him/her differently because he/she is a Nigerian immigrant?
19. Has cultural differences influenced the nature of relationship between you?

20. Why is this the case?
21. Was there any situation when you had to provide him/her with any form of support?
22. If yes, please can explain the context?
23. What is your view generally on African migration to South Africa?

Many thanks for participating in this study.

Appendix 3: A Letter of Consent

My name is Efe Mary Isike (student number 202565252). I am doing research on a project entitled ‘Ties that Bind: A Network Analysis of Relationships between Nigerian Migrants and South Africans in Umhlathuze’. This project is supervised by Prof. Richard Ballard at the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am managing the project and should you have any questions my contact details are:

School of Development Studies and Anthropology, University of Zululand, Kwadlangezwa,
Cell: 0783995327 Tel: 0359026813. Email: isikee@unizulu.ac.za or efe_emerald@yahoo.com

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the project. Before we start I would like to emphasize that:

- your participation is entirely voluntary;
- you are free to refuse to answer any question;
- you are free to withdraw at any time.

The interview will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team. Excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final research report. Do you give your consent for: *(please tick one of the options below)*

Your name, position and organisation, or	
Your position and organisation, or	
Your organisation or type of organisation <i>(please specify)</i> , or	
None of the above	

to be used in the report?

Please sign this form to show that I have read the contents to you.

----- (signed) ----- (date)

----- (print name)

Write your address below if you wish to receive a copy of the research report: